The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at sixteen Minutes past Fourteen of the Clock

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

MOTION OF THANKS ON THE PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS-(*COMTD*)

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER: The House will now take up further discussion on the President's Address movEed by Shri P. M. Sayed.

Shri Shravan Kumar Patel to continue.

SHRI SHARAVAN KUMAR PATEL (Jabalpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I stand in support of the Motion of Thanks to the President's Address.

The assassination of our late Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi was a heinous crime of unimaginable magnitude and was indeed a great blow to democracy and secularism. The whole nation was in a state of shock and turmoil and even the other nations watched at the turn of events in our country with bated breath.

It was under such grave circumstances that the new Government took up the challenge of healing the wounds that had been inflicted upon our people by the terrorists. I would like to say that the new Prime Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao has handled the delicate situation in our country with dignity and maturity and this has brought aclaim not only within the country but also from all over the world and particularly from his critics.

On the home front, the States of Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab were in the drip of worst form of terrorism. Hundreds of people were killed practically every month and men, women and children particularly people from the rural areas were landed together they were lined-up and they were shot in cold blood.

Pakistan was virtually fighting a full scale war against India. They were arming the terrorists, they were aiding the terrorists and abetting the terrorists in committing the worst form of terrorism that India had known. It was in the words of our Prime Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao, waging a proxy war against India.

In spite of all this, the new Government, as per the promise given in the Congress manifesto, successfully held elections in the State of Punjab and a popularly election government is now in position. Efforts are also afoot to have elections in the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

On the international front, there is a marked improvement in the relations with our neighbours, particularly with Nepal, Shri Lanka and even China. So far as the question of big powers is concerned, the United Sates of America, Britain, France and as I have mentioned, even China are increasingly taking the viewpoint which India has been projecting and, directly or indirectly, endorsing the views of India and asking Pakistan not to interfere in the internal affairs of our country. Up-till now the big powers were having a different point of view but now they are falling in line with the point of view of India so far as the question of violation of human rights is concerned, and they are endorsing the stand that India is taking, particularly when encounters are taking place and the securitymen are killing the terrorists.

The country has been successful in signing quite a few extradition treaties with some of the big powers of the world. The recently concluded treaty with Britain is an example which stands out. All this has come about because of the efforts that have been put in by our Prime Minister. This is a remark-

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able change in the international situation and essentially it is owing to the persuasive eloquence of our Prime Minister when he has attended various conferences and has addressed bilateral talks at the international fora.

So far as the economic front is concerned, I must say that the Government has handled the delicate situation with full dexterity and dynamism. It has taken a hard political decisions and acted firmly and sueiftly to deal the crisis which was there when the new Government took over. The industrial growth is now picking up. Foreign exchange reserves which were at the rock bottom have picked up and now stand at over Rs. 11.000 crores. We have redeemed the gold that we had pledged in the international market. The balance of payment problem had been successfully handled. International confidence in the Indian economy has been restored and corrective measures to restructure the economy for greater productivity and growth are being taken. Inflation, which was at one time 16.7 per cent, has been contained and has now been brought down to around 1 twelve per cent.

With regard to liberalisation and deregulationof industries, I would like to urge upon the Government to ensure that the growth is not stinted and at least some industries which do not require urban infrastructure, should be put in rural areas so that at least there is an allround development of the nation.

With industrialisation is associated the question of employment. I am constrained to observe that the President's Address has not given a clear indication about engaging the youth of this country in productive employment. This is a matter of grave concern to all of us and if adequate and full employment to youth is not provided ad per the promise given by Congress Party in its manifesto, the atmosphere of peace and tranquility in the nation will surely remain in peril.

One unresolved problem of the country which is marring our progress economic growth and prosperity is the unimpeded and unrelenting growth of population. After Independence, we have made tremendous progress in the last four decades but the ever-increasing population is playing havoc with all our progress and efforts. Sir, unless something drastic is done very soon, I am afraid that, we are going to reach a point of no return. The Government has to tackle this problem on many fronts the most important being massive awareness campaign through education, incentives and also through dis-incentives. The other day the Health Minister has mentioned in the House, just two days ago, that the Government is contemplating of taking dis-incentive measures. I endorse it fully because this is one problem which we have got to tackle with our full might.

The Census Report of India, 1991 clearly reveals that through education, States like Goa and Kerala - where the education of the people is on the higher side - have shown encouraging results. We, however, have still to go a long way and need to commit ourselves to the great and challenging tasks of freeing all parts of the country of illiteracy, particularly in the age group of 15-35 year by the end of the Eighth Plan. For this purpose the use of the television should be taken. The maintenance population growth clock as is being shown on the Indian television is a good idea. Since the crisis is a grave one, I urge upon the Government to act with full might and vigour.

With population connected the question of infant mortality Infant mortality in our nation is still pretty high and all our efforts should be to contain this higher level of infant mortality.

We cannot under-estimate the growing menace of the dreaded disease AIDS. This is going to be our enemy number one very shortly. The recent statistics are unnerving. The Government has to combat this malady on war footing. Massive publicity and awareness campaign, educating the teenagers in schools and colleges, utmost care in blood transfusion, control of drug addicts and rehabilitation of AIDS victims are some of the points which need to be seriously looked into.

Science and technology have tremendous scope to bring the latest innovations to the benefit of mankind. Use of atomic energy for development is a point of utmost importance. Harnessing and conservation of energy, renewable source of energy, energy through hydel projects, through wind mills, solar rays and from ocean waves and tapping geo-thermal heat of the earth are some of the alternatives where we can do much. This is one sphere where India should import latest technology without any inhibitions.

In addition to animal husbandry, we could use genetic engineering for increasing our food production. The latest results have baffled us all. In the most arid deserts, plants, including most succulent plants, have yielded baffling results. Another place for future food is the ocean. We must explore this as well. Incidentally oceans also offer great potential for minerals and metals like cobalt and nickel which can well be used for the benefit of our nation.

In the end I would like to state that the desparate economic growth of different States is a cause of serious concern adversely affecting the Centre–State relationship. The quasi–federal structure of the Constitution hangs on a slender thread of cordial relationship between Centre and States and between the States themselves. My own State, Madhya Pradesh, has long been neglected. It is one State which is endowed with highest natural resources, and yet, regrettably, it has very lowest per capita income, being third from the bottom. The same is the case with my constituency, Jabalpur. Although we have a population of over ten lakhs of people, yet we cannot boast of a single industry in the private sector which can give employment to the educated youth of our city. Jabalpur, as everyone knows, has number of ordnance factories where thousands of people are working. Of late, the condition of these workers is also not very satisfactory because at the moment these factories are suffering from recession and lack of order. They are facing serious threat of under–utilisation of capacity. I would urge on the Government to reorganise and upgrade technology in these factories to ensure full and assured capacity working even if it involves diversification of their production pattern.

A scheme of Rs. 77 crores for underground drainage in Jabalpur city is pending for financial sanction with the Urban Development Ministry. I request the Government to get funds, if necessary, from the World Bank or Japanese Aid programme so that Jabalpur could be free from the onslaught of the ghastly diseases like malaria, diahrroea and meningitis.

Starting work on Jabalpur and Katni byepasses — the scheme is already here and it is approved and the question is only of allocating funds for that — and the introduction of a fast new train between Jabalpur and Delhi as promised by our Railway Minister to 11 Members of Parliament from Madhya Pradesh, but not given in the Railway Budget — we are hopeful he will give us a train shortly — and commissioning of 10 KW T.V. transmitter and extending the runway of Jabalpur airport so that Boeing aircraft can land there, are some of the very important pending issues for which I urge upon the Government to look into seriously.

I am a pragmatist and I do not believe in illusions; yet I have little doubt in the tremen-

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dous potentials of my people and my nation our nation.

With these words, thank you very much for giving me the time.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SHANKERSINH VAGHELA (Godhra): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there is no mention of the President's Address made on 11th July, 1991 in the present discussion. When the Address is prepared, the party keeps in view its manifesto that its Government would do this and that. If there is any mention like the Government did such and such things, it is not meant for mobilising votes. It is a fact that the manifest is vote–oriented. I regret to say that the Addresses made by the President either on 11th July, 1991 or 24th February 1992 do not speak anything about the past achievements of the Government. In the previous Address of the hon. President as well as earlier manifesto of the party, it was promised that the prices would be brought down in 100 days. By now, the Government has already completed 200 days in office. The party which promised to reduce the prices and remove poverty under the leadership of Indiraji has failed to do so. Rather, the poor have been eliminated and the party got their votes. Now–a–days, the prices are shooting up and it is all due to the faulty policies of the Government. Had there been a slight mention in the President's Address that the prices have gone down, we would have admitted that the Government did a thing for the poor. The Government claims that the rate of inflation has gone down from 16 per cent to 12 per cent. But it is not correct. One may go to the market and see for himself that there is a steep rise in the prices of almost all commodities. The prices have gone very high as compared to those prevailed as on 11th July 1991 or even before that. Due to Government's policy, once the price of a commodity goes up, it goes on rising further without any check. As a result of this, the common man suffers a lot. In the policy, the Government had made a promise about the public sector that.....

[*English*]

"Reforms in the functioning in the public sector are being formulated to improve its performance. Public sector managers will be allowed greater autonomy without accountability."

[*Translation*]

I would like to know whether the Government is aware of the losses of crores of rupees in the public sector which suck the blood of our economy. The Government had made a promise on 11th July, 1991 but this time there is no such mention as to what progress has been made there and how many officers have been given complete autonomous powers. Initially, the Government said that a white paper on Public sector undertakings would be issued, but it is not known as to on how many public undertakings white papers have been issued. The loss that the public sectors used to suffer has not been checked till now. In case of loss, there was proposal to scrap them or go about for their privatisation. We would be thankful if we are informed as to what progress has been made in this regard.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, about crude oil, the Government.....Today, I read in the newspaper that it was mentioned in the President's address, a year ago also, that the production of crude oil would be increased. We are importing as much quantity of curde oil as the quantity producted here. The import of crude oil causes an import problem involving payment of crores of rupees. If the O.N.G.C. can take up the work of extracting crude oil, whether it is at Bombay off shore, Cauvery Ridge or On shore, it is well and good. Otherwise, we can entrust the work to the private sector and increase its production. By this, we can save a lot of

foreign exchange which otherwise is being wasted. If the production is to be increased at the Off–shore, priority will have to be accorded to drilling because the production is low from Bombay high also. We should conduct a survey and if we are not able to undertake this work, we should invite world technology and global tenders. Please give publicity all over the world that we want to invite global tenders for oil exploration to increase production of crude oil. If the intentions of the Government are clear, maximum people should be engaged in oil exploration. Had the Government foreseen the present crisis three years ago that the rate of production is going to fall and taken precautionary measures right from that time, the question of importing oil would not have arisen now.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the President in his Address spoke about Textiles earlier as well as now. Maharashtra and Gujarat are the worst sufferers in this case. Most of the mills are lying closed and the labourers are dying since then. Some of the labourers have committed suicide, some committed suicide by jumping into ponds or by lying on the railway tracks. Did the Government ever bother about all these things Government has not moved an inch ahead of it, no matter whether these mills are of Nagpur, Gujarat or Ahmedabad. If the Government is thinking about running the textile industry, let it do so, but there should be a mention of it in the Address of the President. Besides, there is no mention of its policy on the sick industries. Export and import of cotton also put their effect on the fate of textile industry. There was a discussion on import and export of cotton.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir these days there is power crisis throughout the country. All the Electricity Boards are either running at loss or there is an attempt to earn profit by rising the cost. Sir, the Government has never considered the power generation seriously. There are many sources of power generation and if these are properly utilised, there would have been no such power crisis as it is today. Now–a–days power is being generated from coal. Coal is coming from Bihar, Madhya Pradesh or West Bengal. Maximum Thermal Power Stations should have been be set up in these States. Coal is also produced from Gujarat, Bihar and West Bengal. Coal costs Rs. 400 per metric tonne at these places whereas in Gujarat it costs Rs. 1000 per MT. We are selling electricity at the maximum cost and the N.T.P.C is also selling it to us at the rate of Rs. 2 per unit. What would be the result if some states would sell electricity at such a rate. The Government should make the best use of coal. As such a thermal power station should be set up just near the source of coal Hydel power stations should also be set up, where electricity can be generated from water. Some hydel power stations are pending clearance due to applicability of Forest Act on them. And about the gas, as the coal should be used where it is mined, in the same way there should be an arrangement for using gas where it is exploited. I am sorry to say that the gas goes waste. Our gas based power stations are ready. You had assured to provide gas to all. A sum of Rs. 154 crore of Gujarat have been invested in ready made gas. Though turbines are there, you are unable to supply gas. You had assured us to provide gas by June 1991 but it is 1992 and the gas has not been supplied. Thousands of rupees of public have been invested in it. Who will bother for that? If you have least shame, your heart should burn instead of burning of gas. To bring it in 'Zero flare–up' it should be provided where it is exploited. So many people are waiting for it.

As far as the price of gas is concerned, the report of the Kelkar Committee states that if you provide gas at higher rate than coal, it is meaningless. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, a day will come when the Assam like sutiation will emerge. You have increased Rs. 100 on royalty on oil from political angle. If you increase Rs. 500 on gas at the rate of Rupees one thousand cubic metre, the price will go up to Rs. 1800, Rs. 2200 or Rs. 2500. Who will then purchase your gas? You have

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to invest money in only one, whether you exploit oil or gas, but you want to earn profit on both. It is a problem for a common man. If you use gas in generating electricity, we will have much electricity. Electricity can be used in small scale industries or in agriculture. In my State two lakh and fifty thousand people engaged in agriculture have deposited money but they are not being given the power connections. Much time, as long as five years at some places, has elapsed since they deposited money but not a single kilowatt electricity has been supplied so far. So, arrangement should be made to use gas.

As hydle power is there to generate electricity, tidal power can be used to generate electricity. We have vast sea coast. We can exploit tidal power. I request you to think over it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I will not take much time and include within two minutes, Coal was mentioned a short–while ago. Coal is not supplied in full quantity. Some officers of the South East Coal Company were suspended for loading under–weight coal in wagons. The management of all the coal companies is corrupt, be it Coal India or any other coal mine. Everyone blames the Railways that it is responsible for pilferage but the common man remains loser. Even those that generate electricity also suffer losses because under–weight coal is supplied to them. You should care for all these things. If you want to lead the country in right direction, you will have to strengthen agriculture. Fortunately, it finds a mention in the Address by the President. But I would like to know whether there has been a scientist in our country who might have carried out research and invented any implement for farmers to solve their problems. Has any scientist suggested to a farmer better ways to run bullock–carts or to use a particular spring or bearing in the plough to make it more effective. Farmers have introduced new tools for themselves by toiling in fields. The Government of India has done nothing in the filed of agriculture except boasting. It appears from the present situation as if you have nothing to do with agriculture. None cared for it since Nehru's time till today. Still it is not too late. If you pay attention to agriculture, the country will prosper.

Sir, through you, I would like to know how many people were provided employment during last year and how many people will be provided jobs or other facilities in the coming year? Will all those points contained in the President's Address of 11th July about providing jobs to such and such number of people in the country be considered for implementation. Do you intend to catch votes by saying such things in the Address? If you, only those facts should be included in the Address which you want to implement on priority basis. If you want to implement the family planning programme or employment on priority basis, do not give ration card or ticket to contest election to the M.P. or M.L.A. who has more than two children. It is all right that bachelors will become the Prime Minister of this country. If any lady comes again after two delivery, take heavy charge from her, do not provide her Banking credit facility, do not provide her job. Many such ways may be there and the whole country will be with you. If you want to control the increasing population of the country enforce common civil code. No particular religion should be given any special concession in this matter. It is very sad the whole country is suffering and you find politics even in this matter. Sometimes you talk for common civil code and sometime of doing some other things. I submit to you to do justice to all by enforcing common civil code. It may be that somebody is taking more benefit. What I mean to say is that none should get neither more benefit or negative benefit. In fact it will reduce the rate sufficiently in five years.

Mr. Prime Minister talks of public distribution system again and again. Go to village and see there. None is getting edible oil from Fair Price shops. None is getting wheat.

Etables are not available. This system is quite ineffective there. Nobody cares. Though the Prime Minister is saying repeatedly, nothing is being done. I request you no to say but to do whatever you are saying.

Through you, Sir, I request that before the next Address by the President the Government should implement half of those suggestions that have been mentioned in the President's Address. If you act rightly, the B.J.P. will support you otherwise people of this country will punish you.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, with these words I thank you.

[*English*]

SHRI SYED SHAHABUDDIN (Kishanganj): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the great English poet Browning once said "God is in His Heaven. All is well with the world."

On reading the President's Address with due respect to the soul of Browning I am forced to modify "The Rashtrapati is in the Rashtrapati Bhavan. All is well with India."

The adverse is divorced from reality. It lacks a social perspective. It seems that the drafters of the Address live in a world of illusions and make-believe. Sitting in a sound-proof glass house, where the cries of anguish of the people, the heart-rending calls of suffering, cannot pierce there and cannot reach their ears, we are faced with a package here which makes some promises but does not really go to the national situation before us.

I will not dilate on the economic situation nor on international relations. I reserve those comments if I have an occasion to speak on the Budget or on foreign affairs debate.

But I must mention about the Punjab election about which the treasury benches have been shouting aloud. Yes, the Congress has won an electoral victory. But would like my colleague here to ask themselves at what moral cost and at what potential cost to the nations integrity. And I find that even in this Address, there is no promise, no assurance that the legitimate aspirations of the people of Punjab shall be fulfilled. There is a passing reference to the Rajiv-Longowal accord but that does not constitute any commitment or give us any hope. I would like to caution the Government that elections are no elections and if the outstanding problems of Punjab are not resolved to the satisfaction of the people of Punjab, then this make-believe Government will not last. Of course, I do not want to make a caustc comment. Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao shall not loss his 12 MPs but Punjab will again lose its peace.

Kashmir is a terrible situation indeed and the Government has promised us massive action and operation against terrorism. More strength to their elbow! But what is there for them to show? With their exercise of the last two years, the situation has definitely shown a turn for the worse. It is not because there is any lack of our power but because there is lack of a long-term policy and the lack of a long-term vision. In our security operations there have been little differentiation between the masses and the militants. Today, the people of Kashmir ask us: Are we the citizens of India? Are we entitled to the protection of the Constitution and the rule of law? Are we, entitled to fundamental Rights? Are we entitled to Human Rights? If we cannot answer these questions in good faith, I am sorry, guns may silence the voice of the people but guns will not make them love us and will not regain us the country.

Sir, there has been, I am afraid, a deliberate attempt to communalise the Kashmir situation. I am sorry Shri Jaswant Singh is not here. He made some very self-evident presentation. He said that Pakistan is there; the POK is there. And then, he said that the people of the Valley are Muslims. Now, I would like to ask him if he were here: Whe

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about the Punjab situation? Is it because they are Sikhs? What about Assam? Is it because they are not the aliens but Mongoloids? What is it that Shri Jaswant Singh wants to convince us about? Does he want to tell us that only the pure aliens of Hindu faith are the true nationalist and the patriots of India? Does he want to define India in terms of *Bharat Varsha*. This narrow outlook is what is wrong with our Kashmir Policy which is shared to a large extent by many bureaucrats who are advising the Government. Therefore, I would like the Government to look at the Kashmir situation with compassion, as a problem of human beings and then we shall be able to resolve this longstanding question. I am sure that a time will come when the people of Kashmir shall embrace us again.

Now, I would like to say a word about the economic situation. What is bothering us is not the grimness of the situation. We are used to our poverty. We can take our poverty in our strides. But we are not used to our submission to the re–emergence of colonialism, to the lease of our sovereignty, to the surrender of our freedom. Therefore, what is a matter of concern today is not the nuts and bolts. It is the question of the overall posture, the overall vision of working under the dictates of foreign organisations or accepting their remedial measures as if they were brought down to us from the Heavens. We are all in favour of economic reform. We are all for cutting down the Government expenditure. We are all for cutting out extravaganza. We are all for simplifying the procedures. But when we introduce reforms, we must take into account the social dynamics of our society; we must look into the possibilities of social dislocation. We must look into this question whether even in the short run is it going to give rise to augmented poverty and augmented unemployment. There are three quarter of our people – may be four – fifth of our people – who do not belong to the market. They are not going to be served by unleashing the market forces or by putting them at the tender mercies of the market forces. Therefore, we are going to divide this nation into two cultures, into two groups? The fact is that 150 million shall enjoy modern life, shall have all that is best in the world, shall have global linkages, global associations, global standards and about the rest of the people, nobody would care what happens to them. If that is the vision of India, I am sure that the people of India shall rise in revolt against such a policy, against such a Government.

Sir, the disparities have been increasing. The President makes no mention at all about the rise in the isparity in our country which is miserable, which is palpable, which is visible between the urban areas and the rural areas; between the 10 percent at the top and the 10 per cent at the bottom; between one region and the other; between one social group and the other. The real test of our economic policy would be not merely to increase production but to see that it is uniformly, equitably and justly distributed among the people of the country, to all of our regions, to all of our classes and we have to bring down the disparity in our society.

Sir, there not a word here about the minimum needs programme. People need food, people need clothing, people need education, people need medicines and people need shelter. This is the absolute minimum that human being needs to live a dignified life. Here is the Government which is presiding over the destinies of 750 million naked, hungry people and does not have a word about the grim priority to the fulfilment of the minimum needs programme.

I would like to concentrate, with your permission, on the problems of the minorities. May I say, at the outset, that I define the word 'minority' not in religious terms, not in linguistic terms, not in ethnic terms, but in terms of social diversity that I find in our society? At every decision – making level, the social group which is numerically inferior

is subjected to deprivation, subjected to injustice because it constitutes a numerical minority. It is in this sense that I want to bring to you this fact that this address is totally silent about the problems of these minorities at various levels of the country. Of course, there is a problem of human rights, of torture, of police bearing, of atrocities. I would like to know whether the Government shall apply the law of atrocities to every group which is victim of atrocities, which is subjected to atrocities. There is not a word about the composition of the special courts, about implementing the reports of the inquiry commissions that we established now time and time again and never worked on them. It is these areas even pockets in villages, pockets in panchayats, pockets in blocks which are inhabited by the weaker sections, by the people who are in numerical minority who are deprived of all the blessings of life even in the applications of the Government programmes. I would like a forthright analysis by the Government that in applying such programmes, the needs of the weaker sections, the needs of the minorities, the needs of those who cannot assert themselves shall be looked into.

I would like to refer briefly to the Babri Masjid which has been referred to here. There was an excellent development. I am sorry that something which should have been featured as an achievement of this Government has not been mentioned in this President's Address. The National Integration Council met and passed a resolution and the assurance was given there by the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh. The acceptance of this resolution unanimously by the whole Council created a new atmosphere in the country, contributed to the lessening of tensions. But unfortunately, a wall is now being constructed in Ayodhya. Temperature is again rising, tension is again rising. I am afraid even our request, that the accepted plan, the approved plan for this wall should be made public so that any doubt or uncertainty that is there should be resolved, has not been accepted by the powers that be.

I would like to mention here that all parties are agreeable to talks. Therefore, there should be negotiations at the earliest in the light and within the framework of the resolution of the National Integration Council. I am sure, a way can be found with goodwill. Until all efforts have been made, nothing would be done. Until there is court order nothing should be done. There is a commitment that the court order shall not be violated. The Government have established a foundation for communal harmony for the welfare of riot orphans. I do not know whether the Government have even made a preliminary effort to count the number of riot orphans, number of riot widows, who should also be equally eligible. But the Government have spoken of an anti-riot force, the Rapid Action Force. But the Government have said not a word about its strength, about its location, about the policy of deployment, about the training programme, about the motivation and psychology because what matters is the motivation and psychology and the composition. The Government had made promise at the time of the elections that the Minorities Commission shall be given a statutory status. I have been assured personally time and time again by various Ministers of the Government that in the next session of Parliament, we shall bring the Bill. I am told that the Bill is ready. But there is no mention about fulfilling this important promise in this address.

We were also promised that the charitable endowments which are called 'wakfs' shall be fully protected and the law which is inadequate shall be amended. Again there is no mention about any such intention, although the Minister concerned has held at least four meetings with various groups and various persons concerned about this task. But the President's Address is totally silent about this question of treating public Wakf, all charitable public endowments as public premises for vacation of illegal occupation and also for their exception from the law of acquisition.

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I am sure that the religious sense of the people of India shall reject the acquisition of any property which is per se religious. They cannot allow our temples, churches and maslids to be acquired for any purpose whatsoever.

I would like to say a word about the 15 point programme about which something has been said. It shall be recast. We have been crying hoarse about it. It has been in operation for the last eight years. Not a single report has been presented to this sovereign Parliament so far about the implementation of the achievements of the Prime Minister's 15 point programme. Now we are told it shall be recast. I hope it is recast. I hope that it is targeted. I hope that the targets are quantifiable, so that we can judge from year to year and I hope that the Government agrees to present a report to the nation every year, so that the minorities feel reassured that their interests shall be taken care of.

There is this National Education policy. And concomitant to it is this three language formula. Many a State has completely disturbed the application of the three language formula out of recognition. Linguistic minorities in every State, whether it is Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar I may say so, or Uttar Pradesh, feel that their children have no opportunity, have no possibility within the given frame of reference to learn their own mother-tongue or be given instruction through their own mother-tongue. I hope that the Government shall go into this question and shall see to it that the three language formula is implemented fully in letter and in spirit and the National Education Policy is reviewed in order to bring the benefits of education to all illiterates and all our children. It is a matter of sadness for all of us for so many years after the Constitution came into force that our children are still not getting the education which is their due. There is no universal primary education in the country. It is a question of national priorities. It is a question of allotment of resources. But there is not a word in the programme her to say that the Government is going to introduce mass literacy campaign on a real war-footing and introduce primary education.

Finally, in our great country people are crying because their rights are not respected. Their human rights are violated. The police tortures them at every step. The weak are their targets. I shall end with a couplet.

> "Dekhein to har mod par mil jayengi lashein
> Aur dhoondhoge to quatil ka pata bhi nahin chalega".

I would like the Government to identify the qatils and to punish them so that these qatils stop the qatils of our rights as Indians, of our rights as human beings, of our rights of being members of identifiable social groups.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE (Panskura): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it is admitted by the President's Address that our country is going through severe crises in many fields. But strange are the prescriptions to heal our maladies. Most steps of the central government, in my opinion, will aggravate the crises.

In order to substantiate my point, I shall enumerate some of the facets of the crises and will try to give some of the Government prescriptions as indicated in the President's address and as enumerated to some extent in the Budget. I shall not go into the details of the Budget because Budget will be discussed separately.

The first crisis is that our country is threatened with serious forces of national disintegration. there is increasing terrorism. It may not be all the time evident everywhere. Even then there is increasing tension and serious attempts to fan communal feelings. This is one aspect of the crisis.

These difficulties were not inherent in our national traditions. Ours is the national tradition where our great poet Rabindranath Tagore said:

[*Translation*]

*Oh my heart, awake on the pious land of great humanity which is like the ocean.

That is in this great humanity of nation we shall all live together.

*Here the Aryans, the Non-Aryans, the Dravida, the Chinese, the Shakhs, the Hoons, the Pathans, the Moghuls have mingled in the body of India.

[*English*]

In this free country all kinds of people came and settled and they were ultimately blessed into one body. This is our national tradition. Therefore surely our country is in a position to defend that national tradition. Because national tradition is often now being used by various forces which are really not doing the job of national tradition.

Let us see how the Government has prescribed and acted on these questions. As far as the prescriptions are concerned, well there are good intentions. But the path of hell is also paved with good intentions, Before the Punjab elections if the package which is being promised everyday that it will be released were actually released, then I believe in Punjab the electoral process could have been different. But unfortunately it was not done. Whom has it helped? Surely, it has helped the terrorists.

Secondly, about the question of communal divide everybody has referred to. Without going into details I cannot but refer to the help given by the Government to Shri Murli Manohar Joshi to hoist the second-hand flag at Lal Chowk at the Government's cost. Whom did it help? In the Kashmir, secessionists, and naturally it never helped the national integration. Therefore this is the facet number one and this is the prescription.

I here do not give all the responsibility to the Central Government or its party. I know inside the Congress Party there are many secular elements. I do appeal to them to rise to the occasion and not only to think about their party, but also about the whole country and act for real secular India which I do regret they are not doing.

There are other facets. There is growing threat of violating social justice against SC, ST, women and all backward sections of the people, including the agricultural labourers. What are the prescriptions? One may say that these atrocities are under law and order and that is a State Subject. That is a very simple way. Incidentally, ST surely is not a State Subject; it is a Central Subject also. But I am not going in for that only.

The question is that all the economic policies also will not help these people. Under the so – called exit policy, those who will be forced to have exit from the public undertakings, will they get any way of reservation in the private field? Surely they will not get. That is inter-connected. I will come to erosion of economic sovereignty later. It is the last point and the most important point at the moment. Have the Government thought about all this? No. One of our friends in the Cabinet who is powerful, is secular, as I understand him. The Minister-in-charge has formed the National Commission on Indian Women. Anybody would agree that all the Laws pertaining to women have always been and increasingly violated. In that Commission, there is only one Member who belongs to other than the ruling party and it is Shrimati Subhashini Ali. All others belong to the ruling party. The ruling party has got famous people in the field of women's movement,

*Translation of the poem Originally cited in Bengal.

[Sh. Geeta Mukherjee]

but I find that most of them have not been given any place in this Commission. This is a very important point with regard to the National Commission on Indian Women. I want to point it out, but the Minister, Mr. Singh is not here. I want to draw his attention through the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs and also through the Minister of State for Human Resource Development to this fact that when the National Commission on Indian Women Bill was discussed in this House, Shri Ram Vilas Paswan at the moment he is out – I had moved an amendment saying that all women's organisations of all–India–standing will be accommodated as members of the Commission without the

15.11 hrs.

[SHRI SHARAD DIGHE *in the Chair*]

right to vote and without salary and allowance. Shri Ram Vilas Paswan assured me on the Floor of this House that it will be done under the rules. May I know whether those promised rules have been brought in? There is no Government expenditure is involved there. I wanted that they might be without salaries and allowances. Important all–India women organisation representatives must be on this Commission, if this Commission has to discharge any work, because women's question is a question where everybody has to rise above petty partisan considerations and join hands. I have, times without number, repeated this in this very House. So, prescription in this sphere is also not very good.

A Commission of Rural Labour was formed in which I happen to be a Member in the beginning. The late lamented Rajiv Gandhi put me over there and later on I gave it up. Shri Dasgupta from my party was there and many others were also there. All the recommendations were agreed recommendations. Some of these recommendations aware protective cover must be given to the agricultural labourers; compensation must be given to them; minimum wage must be guaranteed; age–old pension must be given and job opportunities must be created. I shall take up the job opportunities issue, when I come to the economic question.

Six months hence, that report had been produced. Here, it has been said that it is under consideration. How long will it be under consideration? What kind of consideration are they giving? When I come to the economic situation, I will show that in each of these fields, actually cuts have been effected instead of giving them any relief. Therefore, the very moot question of social discrimination, the question of social justice about which we are in trouble, has not been taken up by anybody.

Now there is the third facet about which everybody knows. It is the question of electoral procees being undermined. It is undermined through muscle power and money power about which all the parties here will have to search their hearts. I am not going into the details. Everybody knows about it.

But I am going to the third aspect which is very important. That is the question of defection. Manipur is the most scandalous instance of defections. I have heard from my colleague, Mr. Bira Singh, how the MLAs belonging to the then ruling party were virtually blockaded and kept under police guard for months together so that they were first to defect. Is this the way how the ruling party is meeting this? If this goes on in Manipur, can you imagine what would happen in Manipur? You all know about the insurgency problem. Will that not add to this? It will add to this. Therefore, think over before you take all the steps. Nagaland and Meghalaya will set an example. That is the facet of national crisis. The prescription and the result I am putting before everybody to ponder over.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please conclude.

SHRIMATI GEETA MUKHERJEE: I

want a little more time. I hope you will kindly give me. I would try to be as brief as possible. I am generally brief.

Now the last part of my question is worrying us most. It is the question of economic sovereignty. Yesterday my esteemed colleague, Mr. Somnath Chatterjee, and many other esteemed colleagues dealt at length with the IMF conditionalities. I am not going into that. But I want at least to raise one aspect, that is, the Dunkel proposals, because about that, you are supposed to give your opinion next month – by April. In my opinion, as I find, you are already giving your opinion.

Hon. Minister, Mr. P. Chidambaram, said the other day that the Dunkel proposals will do good to our agriculture and textiles. What are the Dunkel proposals with regard to our agriculture?

> "Reduction in subsidies by 13.3 per cent by the year 2003 in all cases where these are more than 10 per cent of the value of production."

This means not only withdrawal of fertiliser subsidies but also for seeds and maybe for water, power and even for the poor farmer. So, this will do good to agriculture! Is that why about the drinking water also, in real terms in the budget, the allocation is less. Real terms mean cutting across the inflation.

Allocation for total rural development is less. Is this the way? You have already gone through the Dunkel proposals. Then, the Dunkel proposals deal with science and technology. What is your attitude?

In this year's budget, ICMR has no budget at all. For total medical research, it has gone up.

Another aspect is the question of Centre–State relations. We are losing already. West Bengal has lost Rs. 700 crore due to the discriminatory interest rates. This is also connected with Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and all other things. It is interesting that last year, half of the allow which was there for the Yojana, was not spent. Why? Because the State Government could not give money. This year, a little less than the originally estimated has been given. I do not know where from the State Governments will get the money. Therefore, is this economic sovereignty? Is this economic sovereignty where at the dictat of these people, you are giving up even what you said was one of your most important points, that is, public distribution system. You are practically doing away with it. So Sir, I feel most of the packages that are given in this speech as well as some of the indications in the Budget does not at all elicit any thanks. If anything it does elicit, it is the total rejection of it and that is what I want to do on behalf of my party.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SUKH RAM (Mandi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the Motion of Thanks moved by hon. colleague Shri. P.M. Sayeed on the President's Address. The President's address signifies the policies of the Government. I would like to divide this address roughly in four parts. During the last Eighteen or nineteen months there had been two Governments. Now after them, the people of the country have begun to realise that there has come a Government at the centre which is capable of overcoming great problems before the country and taking and implementing decisions without any delay. After eighteen or nineteen months it is for the first time that people have realised it. The policies which have long term effects and are helpful for nation building are made after keeping next 100 years in view and not keeping elections in view. Some of our colleagues support or make policies keeping elections in their view. I want to draw your attention to the difficult situation in Punjab in which elections were held. The elections were held in peaceful atmosphere. It shows that the Prime Minister is a man of firm determination and he fulfils his commitments.

[Sh. Sukh Ram]

He does not back out from his promise. When Shri V.P. Singh became Prime Minister, he had created several problems for the people of the country. After becoming Prime Minister he went to the Golden Temple and also, covered some distance in open jeep. The people had great expectations. He also promised to hold election. But he could not hold election during his tenure. But this Government held election in Punjab within six months.

Since I hail from neighbouring State of Punjab, I know that it has been alleged that people in a large number did not take part there in elections. I know that the Akalis in Punjab are at daggers drawn, they had always been fighting for power. They do not want to remain out of power. But those who were terrorists achieved their own goal. They have created the atmosphere of terror all over Punjab. The only reason that the Akalis did not participate in the election was that they were afraid of bullets. Their complain about package is merely a pretention. The elections were held and the people there displayed their zeal to restore Democracy. Shri Chandrashekhar also had decided to hold election there, he had even initiated the process. But you may remember that 28 candidates were killed before the elections.

Hundreds of innocent people were killed. The decision to hold election there was taken, but they could not ensure peaceful elections there. When it was considered to postpone election there, the Congress party had come in power just a day earlier. It did not have any hand in it. If there was any hand at all in it, it was of the Election Commission. Had no candidates survived there, for whom was the election was to be held? But this time not a single candidate became the target of bullet. The Prime Minister can be given credit for this. For this he should be congratulated by all sections of the people. Similarly, Assam problem was also solved to a great extent. This too is the result of firm policies of the Government. A Bill for providing Assembly for Delhi was passed in the House and provision for the Council of Ministers was also made in it. Though, the Bharatiya Janata Party had made high sounding promises and also extended support to the then Janata Dal Government, but that too could not do it. But the Congress Party fulfilled its promise made to the citizens of Delhi. It fulfilled the promise within four or five months. But you remained in power for more than one year, yet you could not fulfil it. These are the achievements of this Government.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Prime Minister has opted for setting bigger problems through consensus. This too is a very great achievement. Needless to say, 25 to 30 per cent voters of the country do not exercise their franchise. Right from the inception of electoral procedure in the country till date only 60 to 70 per cent voters exercise their franchise. Sometimes, this percentage increases or decreases. This country is a country of diversities. The only way to keep it united in a single thread is to settle bigger problems through consensus. The Prime Minister Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao has adopted this method. It is a different thing that some of our colleagues make their statements in the House different from what they do outside this House. But the Prime Minister has always applied this method to solve bigger problems. In this country social and economic revolution can be brought about by taking the cooperation of all the people of the country. It is right that we are in minority. Had we 400 Members of Parliament in our party we had adopted this very method only. Because this way only changes can be brought about in this country.

One more point about the strength of the country has been made in this address. The greatest resource of a country is its human resource. Shri Narasimha Rao has a dream. This Government promised to take step to realise that dream. In this address it has been said that arrangements will be made to provide education and health for all

sections of people. A reference has also been made regarding providing employment to the people through Integrated Rural Development Scheme, Jawahar Rojgar Yojana. He has promised, the nation to provide all these things.

No country can create the atmosphere of peace and affluence unless its foreign policy has no elasticity. The foreign policy should be modified with the course of time. It is said that no country can always be a friend or an enemy to a particular country. Every country ones its self-interest first.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am slightly strained to state that those people from whom we expected constructive cooperation and whose principles and ideologies are in agreement with ours, have become our chief opponents. I admit that those persons who have gone from here are secular. Their ideology is progressive because their culture is that of the Congress. But today they talk many things with a view to serve their self-interest which is their right. I would like to state one thing more. Our leftist colleagues give us advice, their ideology and principles are not very different from ours. But what has happened these days is that their source of inspiration has disintegrated. Though, we were in friendly terms with it and even now it is so but today that country has been disintegrated?

We talk about China. Has it not admitted it? I would like to speak on the economic problems in the Budget after some time. But I would like to state one thing that even 1/10 parts of the total investment made in China has not been made in India. But those who give advise should oppose constructively for which you all are entitled. One thing is talked that the Budget has been leaked out. What is the basis of differences between the political parties? It is ideology, principle. You should give direction to the country as par your principles. These people are trying to make out that the Congress has joined hands with the B.J.P. to facilitate smooth functioning of the Government. All of us know that they try to create differences. Just now Shrimati Mukherjee said that some people are secular. All the members of Congress are secular. I would like to point out that our principles are totally different from thpse of B.J.P. therefore, neither we had any collusion with B.J.P. nor we will have it in future. B.J.P. is not secular. B.J.P. is working in the name of religion. The role of B.J.P. has been laudable during the past few months and it has been providing constructive criticism but today they are in a different mood. They want to create problems for us by pressing the cut-motion.

Mr. Chairman Sir, I would like to reiterate that we will never drift away from the policy of giving protection to the minorities and from following the policy of secularism and socialism even though we may have to sit in the opposition or remain out of power. I would like you to allow me for two minutes more. I would like to submit another point.

They speak of price-rise. During the question hour today they raised a question that the farmers did not get remunerative price for their produce. They do not sell their produce and as a result you have to import it from America. A newly elected member from opposition said that no progress was made in agricultural sector during the tenure of Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. You might be aware that there was a severe drought in 1987, but we did not beg from other countries. There are some countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which are independent but they cannot produce foodgrains for their needs. They are forced to bow before the big countries. It is a matter of pride that we have faced such adverse circumstances. Shri Rajiv had assigned me this responsibility. We did not import foodgrains even and did not allow anybody to die of starvation. You talk of price rise. You think about it yourself. There are 76% small and medium farmers in the country and only 24% farmers grow surplus foodgrains. Punjab, Haryana, U.P. Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu contribute a lot in

[Sh. Sukh Ram]

this 24% which gives surplus foodgrains but the prices are also continuously rising. The Government have to pay Rs. 5–6 thousand crore as subsidy if it does not increase the issue price and the support price. Even today the Government is paying Rs. 2600 crore as subsidy. Then who is responsible for price hike? Are we not responsible for this price hike? The Government takes certain steps when we raise our voice in this House. I would like to draw your attention and submit to all friends and especially to those friend who consider themselves progressive and who are progressive too, that they are not strengthening the country by adopting the path of confrontation. The number of B.J.P. members has risen from two to eighty six. Either leftist or Janata Dal is responsible for it because they have made seat adjustment with B.J.P. Their number increased to 119 from 86. Therefore attention should be paid to strengthen the hands of the Government rather than weakening it. You will be responsible for it if they become stronger. With these words I support the President's Address and requests to all friends that we are passing through a critical situating today and they should, therefore, help us.

We should bear in mind these circumstances because neither the people nor the political parties want fresh elections in the country. B.J.P. should take a lesson from the Punjab elections. In Punjab B.S.P. came at second position and B.J.P. came at third place. I would like to remind other friends also that they should not forget how Janata Dal was routed in U.P. where Shri Vishwanath Pratap Singh made it a prestige issue that it was his stronghold. They should not forget the condition of the party in U.P. Elections. Similarly, you should not forget the results of elections in Maharashtra and Bombay. Through these elections the people of this country warned the opposition that if they try to topple the Government–though is a fact that you can topple this Government by endeavouring unitedly–all those parties would be completely routed in the future. With these words I support the Motion of Thanks on President's Address.

[*English*]

SHRIMATI MALINI BHATTACHARAYA (Jadavpur): Thank you, Sir. I rise to oppose the Motion of Thanks. As a matter of fact, I would have no objection to thanking the President for delivering his speech because he is responsible for the delivery alone. But that would also mean accepting the contents which is a statement of Government policy, and it is not just a statement of Government policy, but a statement of how structural adjustments are being made under the pressure of creditors.

Sir, it is not the voice of our President that we hear from this Address. It is the voice of a different President, the President of the World Bank. The Address is silent on the way in which the IMF loans — massive doses of such loans — have been taken although it is full of praise for the Government for having moved swiftly to deal with the crisis in the balance of payments. Is it for this that we have to congratulate the Government?

I would just ask one question. The most massive outflow of NRI capital which caused the worst balance of payments crisis occurred between April and July 1991. This is given in the *Economic Survey*. And at that time there was a care–taker Government and they were refusing to take care of that care–taker Government and this was precisely the time up to which the Chandra Shekhar Government was prevented from presenting its Budget. This was also the time when our gold reserves were being flown outside as security and I would like to suggest that these were the signals of panic and it is these signals of panic which aggravated the crisis in foreign exchange reserves and I would say that this April to July crisis had more to do with the politics of our country than with the economics.

The panic, in fact, was an excuse for swallowing the conditionalities of the International Monetary Fund, hook, line and sinker. The question is whether the IMF prescription can solve the basic problems fo the Indian economy; whether by making India open to the international market forces the majority of our people can be benefited.

The countries that have accepted the IMF package have a different experience. But there have been other countries who have taken those loans but on different conditions. They have been able to negotiate better. Our negotiations have failed desperately.

Again, the question of Chinese accepting of foreign funds has been raised and I would like to say that the Chinese and some other East Asian economies have accepted foreign debts. Even while borrowing, they have outlined a different growth strategy, not the one outlined by the IMF package. But in the case of our country we find that we are now suddenly flushed with foreign reserves. This flush is not the flush of health. This is a flush of fever, which prognosticates a vicious cycle of recession and inflation. In fact, it is not we alone who say this. The IMF staff papers predict this possibility. Here is a quotation. It says:

> "We know that some vulnerable groups suffered during adjustment programmes
> in the short run unless you take steps to insulate them during the period of reform."

This is not from us. This is from Mr. Camdessus, the IMF Chief. Unfortunately for us, these groups, these disadvantaged groups, constitute the majority of the Indian population. And obviously we are going to be at the receiving end of the so-called process of reform, in which they cannot participate. There cannot be empowerment of the poor, of the backward, of agricultural labourers, of unorganised workers. Many of whom are women, workers in the organised sector, who are facing massive retrenchment. They are at the receiving end of the so-called process of reform. The ground is being taken from under their feet and instead of that, all that they have given are dribbles of charity.

On the Television, we daily see the message being flashed –

"Ek Behatar Kal Ke liye Aaj Samarpit"

Those who are being asked to tighten their belts are the poor people. But a better tomorrow is not for them. A better tomorrow is for big capital, multi-national capital, owners of black money people who can come with five kgs. of gold from abroad and sell it here.

Taking a clue from one fo the Prime Minister's interviews, Sir, one can say that certainly this Government is no longer a *dharamsala* for the poor for the dispossessed classes. But it is a *dharamsala* for the rich. It is a *dharamsala*, which offers amnesty to these big multi-national corporations, not just through liberalising the policy but by offering all kinds of amnesties to them.

Sir, perhaps we are to congratulate the Government for having persuaded the redoubtable Carla Hills from swinging the cudgel of Super 301 over our heads. But it is not for nothing that the retaliation has been postponed. It is only because the Indian Government has been a good boy and promises to be a better one.

In 1989, Sir, India had protested against extending the scope of the GATT negotiations to questions, to agriculture and intellectual property rights and tying these up in order to facilitate cross-retaliation.

Even in the previous President's Address, it is said that India will endeavour to see, the Government will endeavour to see, that outcome of the GATT negotiations would be a favourable trading environment for the developing countries.

[Smt. Malini Bhattacharaya]

Now all such references to South–South Cooperation to resist the pressure of the developed countries has been dropped.

Our Commerce Minister now sees positive aspects in the Dunkel Draft. We are told that we shall continue to defend our vital interests and seek improvements, maybe we are seeking improvements from the so–called positive aspects of the Dunkel Draft. As the hon. Member, Shrimati Geeta Mukherjee, has said, this is not going to be the reality. Ms. Carla Hills herself has described them as a crowbar to praise open economies of developing countries. There would be no competition, no liberation of the market forces. But, there would be big unrestrictedly being given the liberty to swallow up small, monopolies would be strengthened, and there would be massive import in drugs and sees resulting in price hike and de-industrialisation of our economy.

There is a little paragraph on the Bhopal disaster which I find very significant. It sets the final seal of approval on the controversial Supreme Court judgement, which exonerates the Union Carbide from the liability of damages that may be proved against them in the future in the next eight years because we are still to understand the full implications on the health of the victims of what happened in Bhopal and it leaves any additional sums to be paid by the Indian Government that is by the Indian taxpayer. With more and more multinationals waiting in the wing, the failure to institute criminal proceeding against the Urban Carbide, would send signals that hazardous experiments may be carried on with impunity and hoone will say a word. The President's Address expresses a great concern for environmental accountability and talks about safeguarding the interests of the developing countries. But, after its abandonment, I would say the betrayal of the victims of the Bhopal disaster, this sounds like mere rhetoric.

Also since it came to power the Government has been talking of implementing the Prasar Bharati Act. In the President's Address there is no mention of this. Of course, now that the Budget is here, it is amply clear that Government funds for AIR/TV are going to be slashed which means that it will have to depend more on commercial advertisement and it is likely to go on a decline as various private and international agencies like the CNN will capture the market for mass–media. They are already there and their better efficiency is widely publicised. All the recommendations that the Government has received from the Committee that it set up suggest increasing entertainments slot and lifting ban on certain kinds of advertisement including foreign advertisements. In other words, the Government owned Doordarshan will now mimic the private channels. It will not have an autonomous, separate existence of its own. Whatever possibility was there that is completely destroyed. Not only that instead of reflecting the lives and needs of our people, different languages and regions, it would impose uniform standards of cultural neo–colonialism.

Now, I come to my last point. The imprint of the sellout is on the economic policy. As other hon. Members have said before me, there are cuts in the most basic needs of the people. Food, Malaria Eradication, Education, all these are being slashed and that at the behest of our creditors. But not only this, it has infected our foreign policy also. No presidential address in the past has offered such fulsome praise to the U.S. Government with which India is supposed to share 'values of democracy, individual liberty and respect for human rights.' May be it is this sharing which has led to joint military exercises with the US Navy. There is a total forgetfulness regarding how the United States Government has crushed popular governments, is still trying to crush and how it has crushed national liberation movements in the developing countries. This volte–face in foreign policy which is now becoming more

and more evident was first signalised when India voted for the rescinding of the U.N. Resolution on Zionism some months back.

I was happy to see on the very first day after which this was announced in the papers that one hon. Member from the Treasury Benches – he is not here today – rose up to protest against it. I do not know whether he would protest against this today also. Anyway, it has been rescinded with India's support.

The Address, of course, also mentions India's unequivocal support to the Palestinian cause. But in the face of the fact that there is not even mention of the recent Israeli attack on Palestinian camps in South Lebanon and the assassination of the Hizbollah leader Musawi, the stated support, the professed support to Palestinians, is once again empty rhetoric. The Prime Minister is reported to have said that we may learn from Israel how to counter terrorism. This comes from our Prime Minister today. He says this about a government which itself is based on racial terrorism.

Again this knee–bending to the international masters is evident India's voting at the Security Council in favour of the imposition of sanctions against Libya. There is a selective treatment at the U.N. Security Council that they refuse to say anything about Israeli aggression, but about Libya there is this effort to impose sanctions. now Libya is under direct threat from the United States. If that happens maybe we shall also accept that smilingly and without a word of protest, putting to shame all our professions of non–alignment. Thus, we have mortgaged our tongues to the creditors. It was very evident in an incident which took place this morning also.

The Address itself does not have a word about the economic war of attrition that the United States is waging upon Cuba, a very small country, and just because it is trying to maintain its economic and political sovereignty. The United States government considers it to be a threat to them and there is this all–out war against Cuba. But the Address has not a word to say about this.

The Government have made its preferences very clear through the President's Address. The battle lines are drawn and I do not think that the poor people, the middle class people, the ordinary people belonging to the backward sections, the poorer sections among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, women who work in the unorganised sector, have any reason to thank the Government for this Presidential Address and I join my voice with Geeta Mukherjee to say that we totally reject this Presidential Address and we are sure that the people also are going to reject it.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI (Hyderabad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, after listening the President's Address we have come to know that we are living in an imaginary world since he has said that in future there would be such and such benefits. The question is that after independence, except for two to four years, Congress has been holding the reins of the Administration. The slogan of socialism was raised, there were talks of neutral policies and whenever we met the Congressmen per chance then the books on socialism were found in their libraries and the green books could be seen in their pockets. Today the old policies have changed. I want to say that when you are changing the old polices now, then why did you keep the country in this state for forty years. Have you realised it after forty years? If the present policies are correct, you should have adopted these long ago. Then why did you rise the slogan of socialism? The way, we are giving liberty to the non-residents. creates apprehension that we would be in their grip and after two-three years, we may be opening the doors for the East India Company. I am pointing out the prevailing state of price hike in the country through this Budget and the

[Sh. Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi]

Budget and the various policies but the question is that as to how the poor people would be able to pull on in such a condition when the prices of wheat, rice and other essential items are rapidly going up.

It requires a long period to build the character of the nation but the steep rise in prices has been causing a great set back to this character. None can lead an honourable life in these circumstances. I am not going to comment on the policy which is being brought, but the question is that if this policy is good then why the prices are gong up. What have you done to eradicate unemployment. It had not been mentioned in the Address. If we look at the other side.....

SHRI DILEEP BHAI SANGHANI (Amreli): Mr. Chairman, Sir, there is lack of quorum in the House.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: The bell is being rung--Now there is quorum. The hon. Member, Shri Sultan Salahuddin Owaisi, may continue.

[*Translation*]

SHRI SULTAN SALAHUDDIN OWAISI: Mr Chairman, Sir, I was saying that today the prices are increasing that is why the common man is in difficulty. I understand that due to the steep rise in prices, a number of complecated problems will come up. Besides it, I am to say that with the change in the economic policy, we have changed the policies of justice and the foreign policy too.

16.05 hrs.

[SHRI P.M. SAYEED *in the Chair*]

We have been supporting the Palestinians before we got our freedom and it is a matter of suprise that the people who had been living there for thousand years were expelled from their houses, their fields were ruined and the people from outside were inhabitant. Today we accept that situation and also support the resolution passed by the U.N.O. for providing facilities to the Palestinians not only this but when Musavi was murdered in Lebnan, we kept silence also over the incident. It is a sorry state of affairs.

Similarly, we supported the American resolution against Libya. In this case also, I feel grieved and shocked. Now I would like to say something about Punjab. Elections were conducted in Punjab, I will not go in detail, and I would not like to say anything about the winners who won in these elections in which only 10 per cent votes were cast but the main question arises here whether you want to solve this problem or want to keep it pending. If you want to solve the Punjab problem really, you solve their river water problem give them areas such as Chandigarh etc. which they want. There are different capitals for different States in the whole of India but there is one capital for Punjab and Haryana. If you want to solve the problems you should win the hearts of the people living there. It is a fact that not one per cent of Sikhs caste their votes in Punjab. In Jammu and Kashmir also, the Kashmiri people are the victims of Pakistani terrorists who come from Pakistan and create disturbances in Kashmir. We go through the newspapers and frequently read the news regarding rape of Kashmiri women, arson and looting as well as torturing of innocent people. It is evident from an F.I.R. lodged with the police a few days back.

The innocent people who are the victims of all such atrocities come to us and make complaints about all these things but no one bothers about them. The problem can be solved, if we link it with love mankaid instead of love for laud, but far for it we would have to change our policy. There is also a mention about the minorities in the President's address but how long will you go on playing the same trumpet. We are at a loss to know how long this 15 point programme will continue? If you want to do something concrete for them, then do it clearly. The 15 point programme for the minorities is being mentioned in every Address but nobody

bothers about its implementation. This 15 point programme has been running since the age of Indira Gandhi, but nobody tells us what were the results. Even today, it is fruitless. The Ministers are only concerned with the inaguration of any scheme and build castles in the air but they ever take care of its implementation. If you want to solve their problems, you take the ratio of the Muslims in Government employment at the time of independence, it was 30 per cent, which today has come down to one per cent only.

If you are to comment on my statement then my dear brothers you peep into your hearts and tell me as to how this percentage has been reduced to the lowest level If you want to say something for their appeasement then I am not going to comment any more. Have you ever said something in connection with Palestine? Of course not, if you pay attention to this type of attitude, you will find how the problems continue to get complicated. Take corruption, it is rampant. Many big factories were set up in Hyderabad during the period of Nizam. Allwyn factory was established. Today people have got good business today there is talk of selling the Allwyn factory . We all know it would prove gainful to some. In this way, some people would become rich and poor would become poorer. Similarly, the largest sugar mill of Asia was established during the time of Nizam in the country. Today there is a talk of selling this factory too. It is clear what the people are going to gain. I want to say nothing except citing an example. Today we say ours is a poor country. If the country is poor, why was the brisk business in gold transacted in the country? The session of Assembly has just concluded. This question was aso raised there. The Chief Minister has got allotted two acres of land to his own son and the net profit of the stone mine there is worth rupees three thousand crore. Why are such things happening here? Where are we leading the country to? We are going to gain nothing except ruination and destruction. You must pay attention to these things first.

Sir, we had established a good reputation during the ruling period of Jawaharlal Nehru when there was talk of Nehru Nasser and Tito. We were known as non-aligned countries. But where have we reached today? We want to extend friendship with oppressors. There is blood-shed in Palestine but we are keeping mum. We salute them and then say that their help would be taken in tackling the problem of terrorism. Are we so incapable? If the Israel-like situation can be tackled in this way, is there no terrorism in London? Why could it nor be tackled there? It is there in the U.S.A. and France. Why then their benevolence alone? We continue to adopt this strange policy. We must pay attention to it. A very large section of minorities is already drifting back out of anger. If this trend continues, that section will adopt some other line of action giving rise to further difficulties.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA (Karnal): Mr. Chairman, Sir, a discussion is going on the Address by President for the last two days.

Where is the country today. The country is having to face big challenges today. Prices are sky-high. Unemployment is on the increase, hunger is widespread, Punjab, Assam, Jammu and Kashmir problems are there and economic situation is there. Yesterday the elected representatives from Punjab had come here. He expressed his views and emotions about Punjab. His speech was very emotional and arousing.

Mr chairman, Sir, why did Punjab come into existence? Haryana had not demanded the formation of a separate State. We should be thankful to Shri Fateh Singh who contributed to the formation of Punjab and Haryana and as a result Himachal Pradesh came into existence. Otherwise Himachal Haryana and Punjab, would have been a single State. I was then a Member of the Punjab Assembly. I know well the situation that prevailed before Haryana and Punjab came into existence. We were reated very badly then. When the Budget was passed for Haryana, the allocations were used to be spent in Punjab beouond Ambla, Thern Punjab and Haryana came into existence, assets and

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liabilities were divided in proportion of 60:40 whether they were meant for water or services.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Shah Commission was constituted. The Shah Commission gave the award to transfer Chandigarh and the areas adjoining it including Kharag Tehsil of Ambala district to Haryana. When the Shah Commission decided to transfer Chandigarh to Haryana. Fateh Singh got cauldrons filled with oil on the roof of the Darbar Saheb and said that in case Chandigarh was not transferred to Punjab and was transferred to Haryana, he would commit self-immolation. Late Indira Gandhi then modified the Shah Commission Award. She decided to transfer Chandigarh to Punjab subject to transfer of Abotohar-Fazilka area including 160 villages to Haryana in the event of transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab.

[*English*]

That was the condition precedent.

[*Translation*]

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the decision was not implemented. In 1977 Janata Party came to power, the Congress stepped down, the Janata Party was ruling at the Centre. The Akali Dal was in power in Punjab, Shri Surjeet Singh Barnala and Shri Dhanna Singh Gulshan of Janata Party were the Minister in the Central Government. For two and a half year, nobody raised the question of Chandigarh, nor did anybody raise the issue of SYL canal, all kept mum. Congress came into power in 1980 at the Centre after a gap of 2 -1/4 of 2 -1/2 years. After that Shri Barnalla, Shri Badal and Shri Gulshan started raising the same old slogans of transfer of Chandigarh.

AN HON. MEMBER: An accord was signed.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA: Accord was signed, but Rajiv-Longowal Accord should have been implemented. That is the question. During the debate my learned friend had said that Chandigarh should go to Punjab.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, during the course of his speech he made an allegation against the then Chief Minister that in 1982 he had not allowed the people of Punjab to enter Delhi to oppose Asis. This allegtion is totally false Asian Games were held, and next year meeting of Non-aligned Movement was held, leaders of nine nations, their Presidents, Vice Presidents and Prime Ministers arrived here and accepted Indira Gandhi as their leader. This way a Third World Power was born.

Subsequently, big powers felt jealous, whether it was America, China or Russia. It was said that India which was a slave country merely 25-30 years ago is now coming up as a leader of 103 countries.

SHRI DILEEP BHAI SANGHANI (Amreli): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am on a point of order. There is no quorum in the House.

MR.CHAIRMAN: The Bell is being rung. Now Quorum is complete. Hon. Members Shri Chiranji Lal Sharma may continue his speech.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, I remember that an incident took place in a Gurudwara at Panipat on 19th February, 1982. Eight sikhs were killed there. I was at Yamuna Nagar at that time. I talked to the Prime Minister at 11.30 P.M. He deputed the Home Minister Shri P.C. Sethi and the Chief Minister Shri Bhajan Lal to take stock of the situation on the spot. I was representative of that area. I also went to Panipat. The Chief Minister Shri Bhajan Lal said, "If anybody even looks at the Gurudwara with an are eye his eyes would be split and if anybody tries to raise his hands against the sikhs, his hands would be chopped off". Inspite of saying these words allegations have been levelled against that Chief Minister. It is quite beseless that he was against any particular community. I am saying with authority that not the slightest

harm was done to any sikh in Haryana. The terrorists had created havoc in Punjab. They believed that a problem of Hindu-Sikh rivalry would be created. I congratulate the Hindus and Sikhs of Punjab for not allowing the dream of terrorists come true. Hindus and Sikhs are the branches of the same tree and they are related to each other. The disturbances taking place in Punjab are due to the fact that some youths are playing in the hands of Pakistan and they are beinng trained there. They are doing all these activities at the instigation of Pakistan. It may be Jammu and Kashmir or Punjab, the Sikh community should not be blame because they can't be called sikhs. Sikhs have never done so. The youth who are misled or following the wrong path and have taken to terrorism are killing the sikhs in large numbers as compared to people of other communities. Shri Bhajan Lal is still our Chief Minister. Whatever has appeared in the Press today against him I condemn it with full force. Allegations should not be levelled indiscriminately. I strongly oppose it.

How can the problem of Punjab and Haryana be solved. My esteemed friend said that it was decided to hand over Chandigarh to Punjab on 26th January. Invitation cards too were distributed. I would thank the Chief Minister for taking such a step at that time as he took a firm stand that Chandigarh won't be transferred to Punjab unless there is some decision. Chandigarh can be transferred only when we get some area from them in exchange. If Shri Baranala wants to unfurl the flange there, I would also do so in the capacity of the Chief Minister of Haryana in those areas. Because I too have the equal right over it as he has got. Don't the people of Haryana have any right over Chandigarh? Is it that our rights are not safe in the hands of our Chief Minister? It is the duty of the Chief Minister who is holding the reins of administration to safeguard the rights of the State and he is doing so at the risk of his life. We the people of Haryana are thankful to him. There after the Government decided that the stand taken by Haryana is good, that Chandigarh will be transferred if some area is given is exchange of it. There is nothing wrong in it. It is true that we do not want tc treat Chandigarh as a football. We say tha: Chandigarh should remain with the people of Chandigarh. If Chandigarh is given to Punjab, then 107 villages and Fazilka area should be transferred to Haryana simultaneously, otherwise, come what may we will not budge from our decision. It is not the question of party, it is the question of the State.

I would like to say some thing on S.Y.L. also. Sutlej Vyas link which is the life- line of Haryana is 215 kms. long, its 50% part falls in Haryana. Haryana completed it some 10-12 years back and the area which is under Punjab was to be completed by Punjab. 85-87 per cent position has been completed. Excess water which flows into Pakistan is going waste. But our elder brother, Punjab for whom we have got immense love is not interested in the construction of canal. Shri Badal says that if at all the canal is constructed, it would be breached. My worthy friend says that it should be handed over to Border Roads Organisation. The Government of India has taken this decision because Senior Engineers, Superintending Engineer and Chief Engineers have been murdered there. Life is dear to everybody and the employees said they would prefer leave the job because they cannot risk their lives. That does not mean that the Government can't assign this job to any organisation. The Government of India should decide it and if there is a dispute between two States the Government has every right to intervene to arrive at a decision. The people of Haryana are thirsting for water and they are literally shedding tears for want of water and on the other hand excess water is flowing into Pakistan. SYL is nearing completion and only 10-15 per cent work is yet to be done. What harm is there if the remaining work is given to the Border Roads Organisation for completion? The main objective is to complete the job of construction of canal.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, with your permission, I would like to request the Prime Minister that the work on SYL be completed as early as possible.

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Thirdly, I would like to draw the attention of the House to the setting up of a refinery in my constituency, Karnal, which was decided some eight years ago. For this purpose 2200 acres of land was acquired. November 16, 1984 was fixed for laying of its foundation stone by the late Prime Minister Shrimati Indira Gandhi but on 31st October, 1984, the cruel hands of death snatched her away from us. New Government under the leadership of Rajiv Gandhi came into power. Shri Rajiv Gandhi laid its foundation stone on 30th March, 1987. Mr. Chairman, Sir, later on in 1989, we were out of power and the whole thing came to standstill. Originally, it was proposed to construct it in Public Sector but later on it was decided to construct it in joint sector. Now Indian Oil Corporation has decided to construct it. The land is lying vacant for the last 8 years which obviously means a loss. I have met the Prime Minister and Shri Shankaranand individually and I would urge upon them in this House that the work of the construction of the refinery may be completed/taken up as early as possible.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, I would say a few words about Jammu & Kashmir. There is indiscriminate killing every now and then. There was a time when people from every nook and corner of the globe used to convege Jammu and Kashmir for touring proposes. People would long for going there. It was just like a beautiful vast garden. Until two years ago there was no conflict between Hindus and Muslims. The kidnapping of the then, Home Minister's daughter Rubaiya during the rule of Shri V.P. Singh sparked off a chain of similar incidents. Such an incident at that time had humiliated the Government which let off 4-5 caputured militants. The militants thought that the Government is weak. They openly said:

[*English*]

"You Indian dogs, get out."

[*Translation*]

Till that time no such incident had taken place. It was the V.P. Singh Government which created the problems in Kashmir. Today Pakistan is taking undue advantage of the situation in Kashmir and instigating terrorism there. Now you see what is happening in Assam.....

MR. CHAIRMAN: Mr. Sharma, please conclude now.

SHRI CHIRANJI LAL SHARMA: Today the situation in Assam has assumed alarming proportions. When the army was sent there the ULFA began to surrender. We know how boldly and courageously they contained ULFA activities. All this was done by the Government. One can criticise and a lot can be said by way of criticism.

What has been achieved by those who undertook the *Ektra Yatra*? Mr. Chairman, Sir, since you are repeatedly asking me to conclude, I have to obey the orders. With these words, I strongly support the Motion of Thanks on the President's Address.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Mr. Chairman, Sir, the objectives of the President's Address are two-fold. One is the past year's performance in various fields and the second is the policy of the Government in the coming year. If this is taken as the yardstick then the Address has been a complete failure. I regret that the Motion of Thanks has been moved by a person who is respected....We cannot support that person because the way the Address.....

MR CHAIRMAN: Your party has been allotted 52 minutes.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Address has been directionless, meaningless and uninspiring. It does not reflect the Government's policy. I have brought the manifesto of the Congress Party. I had said that t a manifesto expresses the objectives of a political party and its policies with regard to various issues. I would not go into the details of the manifesto. This party had made some poll promise. Promises were made to achieve something within 100 days, something else within 365 days and yet

another thing within 1600 days. I don't know if this Government will have a term of 1000 days or 730 days. One of the promises made was to bring down prices to the levels existing in July, 1990 within 365 days. Funds were propose to be given to every village under the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana and employment upto 1000 million mandays was guaranteed in rural areas.

[*English*]

And it was also stated that ten million new jobs will be provided every year.

[Translation]

All this is in the manifesto. It was also said that 10 lakh tubewells would be installed every year for irrigation, 10 lakh dwelling units would be constructed for the backward classes etc and a Human Rights Commission would be constituted. There are many such examples but there is not much time to go into all of them. These are the main points which I want to discuss.

SHRI AYUB KHAN (Jhunjhunu): These proposals are to be taken up over a five year period.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: The examples which I have given were to be fulfilled within one year. (*Interruptions*)

I am trying to highlight how the party is misleading the public. They think that anything can be made to sound authentic if the hon. President or Hon. Prime Minister says it in public or over radio and television. Para 9, which is about the new industrial policy, says at the outset that the policy has begun to show significant results. I would like to ask the hon. Minister whether it is not a fact that there has been a fall in tax collection and the new industrial policy has resulted in low industrial and agricultural production and exports. These are the results of the new industrial policy. If things are on the negative side then where has the new industrial policy succeeded? Today, the masses are not interested in listening to flowery speeches of the hon. President and announcements made over radio and T.V. and discussions on economic policy. What it want is essential commodities at cheaper rates and a check on price rise. The public evaluates a Government by the latter's ability to control prices. If it is able to contain the prices it is a successful Government but if it fails to do so it is a useless Government. This is the politics of the land. Shri Manmohan Singh may say that he has been able to bring down price-levels from 16% to 12%. I have with me the details of current prices of essential commodities and would like to read them out in the House. These rates were quoted this morning. The Government says that the prices of essential commodities have risen by 12% only but the Government has itself raised the prices of several essential commodities by 15%-20%. For example, wheat available at Fair Price Shops is now priced at Rs. 296 against the earlier price of Rs. 214. Price of rice available at these out lets has risen from Rs. 393 to Rs. 486 and price of sugar has been increased from Rs. 610 to Rs. 690 per quintal. In the open market price of flour has increased from Rs. 4/- to Rs. 6/- per kg. Arhar Dal Rs. 11/- to Rs 15/- per kg and Vanaspati ghee from Rs. 33/- to Rs. 38/- per kg. and bathing soap from Rs. 4/- to Rs. 5.50. Multinationals like Colgate have increased the price of the 50 gm. toothpaste tube from Rs. 4/- to Rs 7/- and the 100 gm. Toothpaste tube from Rs. 7/- to Rs. 12/-. The Government has given a free hand to the multinational companies in India. The price per kg. of gram has increased from Rs. 6/- to Rs. 10/-, kabuli gram from Rs. 7/- to Rs. 10/-, Rice (Permal) from Rs. 5/- to Rs. 9/-. These are today's prices.

Whatever the Government may claim here, the fact is that the public is distressed over the rise in prices. I shall not go into the details of this matter or enter into a discussion on the economic policy. I would just like to make a suggestion that a Commission be set up to fix the prices of articles produced by multinational companies on the lines of the Agricultural Prices Commission. The packet containing the article should display

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the cost of production of the article. The public should know that a shoe made by Bata costing Rs. 100 is sole at Rs. 493. 95.

For instance, today, I am levelling an allegation that prices have risen due to the policies of the Government. I have the facts related to the discussion on wheat scandal that was held this morning. The hon. Minister should contradict me if the facts are different. Earlier I was told that the previous Government had done it but this morning Shri Chandra Shekhar clearly stated that his Government did not do any such thing. An agreement was signed to export 10 lakh tonnes of wheat at the rate of 95 U. S. Dollars per tonne after giving subsidy and was sold at Rs. 214 per quintal. Of this, 3 lakh tonnes were sent to Jordan, 75,000 tonnes to African countries and 2.25 lakh tonnes to other countries which comes to a total of 6 lakh tonnes. Another 4 lakh tonnes are to be exported by April. Simultaneously. wheat, is also being imported. Today there was a discussion in the morning that imports would be made in American dollars. Wheat is being imported at $ 160 i.e. Rs 400/- per quintal. It is unjustified to import wheat at the rate of Rs. 400 per quintal when it has been exported at the rate of Rs. 214 per quintal this year. It is also very interesting that in October, November and December, 15 lakh tonnes of wheat were supplied to rolling mills and big flour mills at concessional rates which varied from Rs. 310 to 370 per quintal. As a result of Government's policies the cost of wheat in the open market has gone up from Rs. 300 per quintal to Rs. 500 per quintal within a period of three months. The Government on the one had supplied wheat at concessional rates to the flour mills and on the other hand it did not exercise control on the prices of wheat flour and wheat products being sold by them in the open market. Consequently, the wheat flour which was available earlier in the open market at the rate of Rs.3 per kg. is now selling at Rs. 6 per kg. all over the country. Let me State categorically that my party is against both the State of capitalism and capitalist system. My party favours exercising controls on the prices of wheat products like 'Suji and Maida' when wheat is being supplied to them at Controlled rates so that the public gets these products at reasonable rates. Similarly, the Government exported 15 lakh tonnes of wheat and now it is making import of 10 lakh tonnes of the same item. When wheat was in short supply, what was the need of exporting it? Sir, this matter needs to be investigated by CBI. (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, let me make a small correction in what I said just now in the House. I demand constitution of a Parliamentary Committee to bring to light the wheat import-export scandal, so that all the facts are made known to the country as well as to the House.

Sir, my party is totally against the cult of police State. Though my party favours liberalisation to some extent, yet that does not mean that the Government can frame polices as per the wishes of international financial institutions and the IMF and take the country into deep trouble. My party clearly favours the old slogan of *'Swadeshi'*, Self-Sufficiency and freedom' and we should strive for these goals. Only when these three principles are followed in letter and spirit, the country can march on the path of development, otherwise it cannot make any progress.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, just now my hon. friends of the Congress (I) boasted for their achievements in Punjab and Bombay elections. Their party was opposed to Shiv Sena in Maharashtra tooth and nail because of its stand to instal Godse's statue in Bombay and praise him. The party vehemently condemned the person who was making a demand for installing Godse's statue insulting Gandhiji in public, but the next day, the same party embraced that very person and inducted him into State Cabinet. Mr. Farooq Abdullah is dubbed as a traitor if he sides with the opposition but if he joins hands with the ruling party, he is being called a friend. Similarly, Mr. Barnala is called a traitor and antinational when he is in the opposition but

he is called a patriot when he sides with the ruling party. The whole country knows what prices the ruling party paid for winning the Bombay elections. The person who was condemned six months ago for making a demand to instal Godse's statue was shamelessly inducted into the Cabinet just for gaining a few seats for the ruling party.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, similarly, just now the Punjab elections were debated upon in the House. There was total peace in Punjab between 1977 to 1980. The State administration was quite good and peace prevailed in the State. Bhindranwale was called a saint by the ruling party for forming *'Dal Khalsa'* just to malign those people. Bhindranwale later on proved to be a destroyer. The Government itself entered into the Golden Temple. As a result of this, Shrimati Indira Gandhi was assassinated. In 1984, a massacre took place in the country. Those incidents cannot be called riots because in the riots two parties are involved. It was a carnage perpetrated by the Government. In Delhi property worth crores of rupees was looted and thousands of people were killed, but at no place came charging or firing was ordered. Yesterday, I came to know about the case of Mr. Sajjan Kumar from Doordarshan news. It is lingering on for years, but no action has been taken against him. Now, he has been elected as an hon. M.P.

People who were proclaimed as offenders, have been elected as M.Ps and inducted into the Cabinet instead of being punished. I would like to submit that this action on the part of the Government has done no good to assuage their wounds. My party favours expressing condolences in the House to assuage their wounds. The House should candole the death of persons killed in 1984 riots and the persons killed by the terrorists. The culprits must be brought to book. (*Interruptions*)

Whenever normalcy was in sight in Punjab there was no strong Government at the Centre and steps to restore peace were retracted. (*Interruptions*)

SHRIMATI BIBHU KUMARI DEVI (Tripura East): This party favours expressing condolences in the House. Similar condolences also need to be expressed for the tribals who were killed during the tenure of the Marxist Government in 1980 in Tripura (*Interruptions*)

SHRI MADAN DAL KHURANA: The Rajiv-Longowal Accord, which was signed long back, is pending implementation. This very Accord claimed Shri Longowal's life.

After elections in Punjab, Mr. Barnala became the Chief Minister. Mr. Barnala had been compared with the rule of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in the President's Address. After just three months, on the eve of elections, Mr. Barnala was dismissed on the charges of corruption. People of Punjab felt betrayed. The elections were postponed just one day before they were due. What were the reasons far that? The reasons were that the Congress(I) was not in the fray. The then Governor of Punjab, Gen Malhotra said that he had never been humiliated as much as he was humiliated by the actions of the Government.

I had said during the last elections that as per my information Akalis in Punjab were not going to participate in the elections. At that time the hon. Home Minister claimed that as per his feedbacks the Akalis would contest the elections. A conspiracy was hatched to keep the Akalis away from the elections. Elections did not prove meaningful.

In Punjab there are 132 lakh voters. Out or it, 28 lakh voters exercised their franchise and the Congress(I) got 13 lakh votes. Out of the electorate of 132 lakhs, the Congress(I) got less than 10 per cent votes. In one constituency only one percent of votes was polled. An MLA was elected by just 200 votes. The BJP got 5 lakh votes. Therefore, I submit that the Congress(I) should not mistook the verdict as the will of the people of Punjab, as it got less than 10 per cent votes. But it is a chance for the Congress (I) to solve the problem of Punjab. The Govern-

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ment should come out with a time bound programme, otherwise the party will earn a bad name for itself in the history.

I would also like to delve on the Kashmiri issue. In Kashmir the situation is far from normal. I do not want to give the issue a political colour, but would like to state that after the bomb blast at the police Headquarters on 24th January which claimed a number of lives and injured many others, the building is no more being used till date as the Police Headquarters. The Headquarters of Jammu and Kashmir Police is functioning from the residential premises of the Director General of Police. So what signals are being sent to the people? God forbid, if a bomb blast takes place in the Rashtrapati Bhavan or the Parliament House, will these building be abandoned? I would like to submit that wrong signals have been sent with the shifting of the Police Headquarters after the bomb blast by the terrorists.

Finally, I would like to submit that the Government should pay attention to the plight of refugees who have come from Kashmir. Kashmir issue needs to be looked upon from a wider perspective as Jammu and Laddakh regions also from a part of the State. Pt. Nehru had made some promises about the status of Laddakh. tripartiate agreement had been arrived at by the previous Government to set up three councils for these three different regions.

I intended to say many things but there is no time. In the last I would only say that if the Government is ready to accept the amendments propose by our friend Prof. Prem Dhumal, then we would also support these amendments otherwise I must say that the proposal in not worthy to be accepted. (Interruptions)

Gent Ready, we would topple the Governments.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN (Rosera): Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to remind that we had boycotted the President's Address. National Front, Left Parties and our party boycotted it because we aware were that the services of the hon President, who holds a dignified post and is the Constitutional head, would be misused by the present Government to do the unconstitutional work. Thus, we boycotted the Address at that time. The President's Address which we have gone through, proves our suspicion.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, not only from the point of view of chairman, otherwise also you are our best friend. You know what is the foundation of this country; we have the copy of Constitution before us it has been written in the preamble-

[*English*]

We, the people of India, having solembly resolve to constitute India into a sovereign socialist secular democratic republic.

[*Translation*]

But we were surprised to note that first time the world 'Socialism' was not even referred to in the President's Address. What can be more grieving than the fact that though the Government pose to be the advocator of socialistic pattern of society, yet there is no reference to it in the President's Address. This is just to say that a guilty conscience cannot shed of its alarmed stance. This word has puzzled the Government so much that there is not even reference to it anywhere. (*Interruptions*)

17.00 hrs.

Now four words are written in the constitution-sovereign, socialistic, secular and democratic. I would like to ask whether these things reveal sovereingnity, freedom of the countyry does not mean soverignity. Sometimes the country is independent but the people are slaves as it was in 1975. Even today, we may say that India is free but the path we are following leads to political and economic slavery and India will have to be

freed this from slavery. I would like to submit that we would not be sovereign from political and economic point of view. (*Interruptions*)

It has been the only instance in the Indian history after independence that 47 tonnes gold was sent secretly to foreign countries. When the issue was raised in the House, the Government stated that, it was dous to get loan. Now, the Government feel provd to say that the same gold has been taken back. It appears that the Government earned enough money just in six months and recovered the gold.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, it appears that the Narasimharao Government have taken a huge loan to get the gold back-

"Yavat Jivet Sukham Jivet, Rinam Kritva Ghritam Pivet". It means that so long as a persons lives he should head a happy life, he may take debt to do so. This is what happened. When India got freedom we were not at all under debt whereas in the year 1977 the total amount of debt reached rupees twenty three thousand crores. This is as per the reply given in the Parliament. During 1977-1980 when the opposition was in power there was no increase in the debt. In 1980 the debt increased to rupees twenty three thousand crores and in 1985 the amount increased to rupees forty five thousand crores. The highest increase took place during 1985-89 when the debt increased from rupees forty five thousand crores to rupees one lakh and twenty thousand crores, this is as per the record of the Government, and not as per the figures gathered by us.

The Government have today announced to increase the income tax limit from rupees twenty two thousand per annum to rupees twenty eight thousand per annum. But as per the devaluation trend at present the value of the same amount automatically increases to rupees thirty thousand and the debt amount of rupees one lakh and twenty thousand crores automatically increases to rupees one lakh and thirty four thousand crores, debt taken recently automatically increases. In this manner, we have debt of about rupees seventy thousand crores on us. It means that the Government have taken loan of two thousand rupees even in the names of those who have yet to take birth. The Government may take pride in it if they desire so.

My submission is that though it is said that ours is a sovereign state but are we moving towards socialistic pattern or capitalistic pattern of society . Some of our friends have been in the army and have served their whole life there. Today we suspect the even they are supporting the Government.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, the other points relates to secularism. I would like to ask whether this Government is moving towards secularism. Our Government was the one that sacrificed everything to protect secularism, whereas your Government was the one that used airforce to protect communism. Today, you are delivering lectures. Shri Khurana had rightly pointed out, I agree that they are serpents which have taken your neck into their grip and will not spare you at any cost. (Interruptions)

It won't have been done if Shri Joshi had not unfurled the flag.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA (South Delhi): Money has been paid for it.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, money has also been paid to them. Look, this is the Government, the Government of India are doing these things. they provided aircraft and also money. And then they unfurled the flag which has now become a matter of propaganda.

SHRI MADAN LAL KHURANA: Don't' speak in this manner. He is saying what I have not said (Interruptions)

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir , I am very serious to state that you were also present in the morning. I think you are an active senior member of Parliament. You know that in the morning the Government was urged to tell the quantity and the

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rate at which import-export of wheat has been made, but no reply has been given so far. We only wanted to know whether the rate at which import expart is done in the interest of the farmers. More money is being paid to import wheat than the rate at which it is being exported. The Government have no reply for this, whereas the Members have.

Secondly, Mr. Chairman, Sir, Members also want to know whether it is true that Indian export of foodgrains like wheat and rice to Cuba has displeased America and whether America has warned to stop financial aid if India continued to do the same. If we export wheat and rice to Cuba we would not get financial aid because America has its hold over IMF. The Government has been so far unable to give reply to this. The Government has sacrificed their dignity, respect, economic and political sovereignty to IMF and the World Bank.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, my other submission is that India's freedom does not mean only *Swaraj*'. Swaraj means our own rule and 'Suraj'. means good rule. Have we been able to build a prosperous State? Like the Parliament, this country has got four pillars, the social pillar, the economic pillar, the political pillar and the administrative pillar. Those who are socially backward are also backward economically, politically and administratively. As a result, whenever atrocities are perpetrated on these people, the economic, political and administrative pillars join hands against them. Whenever a basic question is raised in this country, a nation-wide agitation is launched against that moVe.

Shri Sulatanpuri iS present in the House. He has just spoken. I do not want to speak much on economic matters, because everyone is expressing this or her views on the subjects. I would like to quote from the President's Address from para 23 page 10 of the I Hindi version. In that, he has said that the Government is acutely conscious of the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In respect of the repeated incidents of atrocities against Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, a special conference of Chief Minister was held in October 1991 in order to focus on the need for the state Governments to pay special attention to deal with this problem.

The august House discussed the Tsundur carnage for 16 hours. In that massacre, 22 people were slaughtered, their limbs were cut into pieces and thrown into the *nallah*. Representatives of C.P.I. (M), C.P.I. Telugu Desam and other political parties visited the site. The incident took place on the 6th, yet the Chief Minister, who was indulging in political maneuvering in Delhi, was not aware of it till the 8th. We reached there on the 10th and returned. After 16 hours of debate in the Parliament, an assurance was given that special courts would be set up to punish the gvilty. A *'Nyay Jyoti'* was taken out there on the 6th December and Sultanpuriji, you would be surprised to know that the local court passed a judgement last month, in which it was said that the suspects be acquitted on the grounds that there was no chargesheet against them. All of them have been acquitted. What could be worse than this? A congressman is also among the accused. No chargesheet has been submitted so far against those responsible for the 1984 antisikh riots. Chargeshee: against people involved in th Tsunder Carnage was submitted, but the accused were acquitted. Therefore, Khuranaji, when the matter was raised on 12th, I had said that blood is blood, whether it is of a rich man, a poor man, a Hindu, a Sikh, a Dalit or a Brahmin. If we pass judgments or grieve on the basis of caste, creed or class, then it would be impossible to keep this country united.

It is most unfortunate that today, when Muslims are killed, it saddens only the Muslims. Similar is the case with Dalits, Sikhs etc. If this attitude remains, then this country will never be united. If India is to remain as one entity, we will have to shed tears even when people belonging to other faiths and castes are killed. Today, one of the General Secretaries of the Congress

Party...**...is going to attend a meeting of the Brahmin Mahasabha The organisation is being launched today. You raised the issue of social justice. That is why I said that the incident that took place at Barah.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: A person who is not a Member of this House, his or her name should not be used.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: You may expunge it..... is not any ordinary Member. there are many such names.

MR. CHAIRMAN: We have certain conventions.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: You can just refer to the person as the 'General Secretary of the Congress Party.

MR. CHAIRMAN: It is not a matter of Congress(I) or any other party.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Okay, I agree.

[*English*]

MR. CHAIRMAN: Please expunge that.

[*Translation*]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur): Mr. Chairman, Sir, Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi's name has been going on the records. Now that this person has been named, you are saying that she is not a Member of the House, therefore, it should not go on records. There should be a common yardstick. I request you to get all the records corrected.

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Wherever Shri Murli Manohar Joshi's name occurs, replace it with 'National President of the B.J.P. and replace the name with 'General Secretary of the Congress Party'. There is no difference between the two (*Interruptions*) Mr. Chairman, Sir, the Union Home Minister visited the site of Barah carnage and rightly so, but before that 10 people belonging to Scheduled Castes were killed. May I know why the Minister of Home Affairs did not deem it necessary to visit that site? People belonging to minority communities were killed in many parts of Uttar Pradesh, but where all did the Home Minister go? Why didn't he visit those places? He visited the site of the Barah carnage, merely to gain political mileage and defame the State Government?

We are the followers of Baba Saheb Ambedkar, and we have complete faith in the Constitution drafted by him. Today, I would like to caution that there are only two courses left before the country. One is that of Parliamentary democracy, which if subverted, would lead to the second path, which is that of violence. Once that path is adopted, no one would be able to stop it. If you remember, when I was in Government, I had said that one can kill mosquitoes by spraying D.D.T, but unless and until cleanliness is maintained, no amount of D.D.T. can stop masquitoe breeding.

Today, youngsters in Tsundur ask their M.P. whether the path of democracy or the one followed by the Naxalites is correct. They said that when they are not getting justice from democratic ways they would render justice, when in future, by taking the law into their hands. The Barah carnage took place, because no remedial measures were taken against the massacre of 12 Dalits (*Interruptions*)

Mr. Chairman, Sir, as my friend Shri Digvijay Singh correctly observed, all the incidents, whether it is the one involving Ishwar Chaudhary at Gaya, Sharda Prasad at Gorakhpur, Chhote Lal Yadav, Labour leader Niyogi in Madhya Pradesh or the one involving our own fellow Dalit Sohan Lal Pipal, all indicate that today the poor people

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**Expunged as ordered by the Chair.

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are being killed. This is equally true to Congress-ruled, Janata-ruled and B.J.P. ruled States. Who was Ishwar Chaudhary? He belonged to the Scheduled Castes. What will happen, if people belonging to Scheduled Castes, take up arms in reprisal? Then it would be your turn to cry.

We don't have words to condemn the killings of labourers and Dalits. This double standard is detrimental to the interests of the nation. Mr. Chairman, Sir, you were also a Member of our delegation to the President. 106 MPs belonging to all Political Parties rising above their party lines had gone to meet the President, but he refused to meet them. In villages, when a Sub-Inspector, refuses to register a F.I.R., people go to the S.P. But when the President of the country refuses to register our F.I.R., where shall we go? It is a political post. If the Congress is sincere and if it has the courage, let it nominate an Adivasi for Presidency. We are prepared to extend our support, even if the candidate belongs to the Congress Party. Let it nominate any person from the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes or Minorities. A priority list may be prepared with the Scheduled Tribes on the top. Then, a tribal would occupy the office of the President, for the first time.

[*English*]

SHRIMATI BIBHU KUMARI DEVI (Tripura East): We are ready to make a Scheduled Caste or Scheduled Tribe person a President.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: Mr. Chairman, Sir, please make an announcement that it is the general consensus of the House that a Tribal would be made the country's President.

[*English*]

SHRIMATI BIBHU KUMARI DEVI: It has always been the Congress party which has tried to make reservations for tribals and Scheduled Castes. It is the Congress Party which has started the process.

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: You should not back out on your words under pressure.....(*Interruptions*)

I would like to submit that there is a backlog of one lakh and forty thousand posts. A new economic policy is being formulated for the scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. As per the policy, the importance of public sector is being reduced and everything is going to be privatised. Then, there will be no reservation in the private sector. Two hon. Ministers are present here. Shri Sitaram Keshri has promised to clear the entire backlog by 31st March, 1992. Now it is the month of March and today is the 5th of March. Shrimati Margaret Alva is also the Minister of Personnel. I asked the question in the meeting of Ambedkar Centenary Committee and asked the same in the House also as to how much backlog has been cleared. She says that no commitment has been made in the matter. The Cabinet Minister says that he has some magic wand and would clear the backlog by 31st of March. The National Front Government had tried to instil confidence in the minds in of Dalits and people belonging to minority and backward classes. Today, the Government is withdrawing all such facilities. We had taken up the Mandal Commission Report. (*Interruptions*) The intention of this Government is not clear. We had already said that we would not support this Government. A certain talkative person offered one lakh or two lakhs posts. It is a Government of talkatives. We made a demand for providing 50 per cent reservation backward to classes. They proposed to provide 10 percent reservation to the people belonging to upper classes. The matter was referred to the Supreme Court. The last date of hearing was 28th January, after six months the Government colud not explain as to what its economic criteria were. The Supreme Court closed the chapter and kept it opened.

I don't want to mention anybody's name. The eminent advocate of the country call us idiots and blame us that we become Ministers and officers on the strength of reservation. They used the word idiot. It will have wider ramplfications. When the Congress Party criticised the Mandal Commission, it was defeated in North India. Owing to dual policy being followed by their party they will also be thrown out of power in the States of South India. Because, the people of this country ultimately seek the support of their castes in which they were born. This problem can only be solved through social justice and by impiementing the Mandal Commission Report. These are the only two ways open. There is a basic difference between the young and old generations. The old generation had tolerated the atrocities but the new generation don not believe in casteism. They can sacrifice their lives for th cause but never succumb to these atrocities. The Muslims of pre-independence era had tolerated the charge of being called as agents of Pakistan. But if the Muslims of my age like Shri Abdul Hamid who received Paramveer Chakra' while fighting against Pakistan, are called traitors, they will not tolerate it. The Government has backed out from the path of secularism, social justice and socialistic pattern of society and is proceeding towards capitalism. I would like to tell three things to my hon. friend, Shri Khuranaji. If he gives the slogan of Hindu Rashtra, he will have no right to criticise the people for giving the slogan of Khalistan. If someone raises the slogan like *"Garva se kaho ham Hindu hain"* say proudly that we are Hindus nobody support the Hindu minority in foreign countries, viz America, England etc. The day the mosque will be demolished, what will be the fate of Hindus living abroad. Through you, I would like to say that it is dangerous to link religion with politics. It is dangerous both for Sicks and Hindus. As such, there should be no double standard in it. (*Interruptions*)

[*English*]

SHRI S.B SIDNAL (Belgaum): Mr. Chairman, Sir, he is going out of the purview of President's Address.....

(*Interruptions*)

[*Translation*]

SHRI RAM VILAS PASWAN: I am very much within the purview of President's Address. I would like to say that no concrete steps with regard to land reforms have been taken so far. Nothing has been said against those big capitalists who possess lakhs of acres of land in the country. If Government's intentions are clear, it should follow the policy of one man one job. If one wants to remain in Government service, he should not keep land with him. If one wants to become a farmer, he should leave business. One has to leave Government service to become a business man. If one persons enjoys all facilities viz. Government service, business, cultivation, industries and Ministership, how there can be social justice in the country?

Finally, I would like to make a submission about the elections held in Punjab. I fully agree with Shri Khuranaji that this problem has been created by the Government. Shri Khuranaji is also involved in it to some extent. I would request that a political solution to solve the Punjab problem should be found out. As long as this Government remains in power, the state of affairs will remain the same. The problem will remain as it was. Sometime this party and sometimes that party boycott the elections. Yesterday, they were also boycotting the elections. Both the parties did not co-operate each other to solve the vexed Punjab problem. The Government could hold elections in Punjab. But I would like to say that we all are committed to the unity and integrity of the country. We want to strengthen the country with out involving party politics in it. There is no power in the world which can raise its fingers at our country. But we have to fight against Pakistan on Kashmir issue. We should also work for a political solution to Kashmir problem. I would like to say one thing. Since the Government is engaged in unconstitutional act in every field, be it political, economic, social justice or the matter of socialistic pattern of society. We want to dislodge the Govern-

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ment. The sooner the Government falls the better it would be in the interest of the country. We will try our level best this to bring a downfall of the Government because this Government has lowered the dignity of the country.

With these words, I unintentionally oppose the Motion that has been moved by the Government. But my friendship with them will continue. I as well as my Party would oppose the President's Address with full force because the Government has lost its morale.

[*English*]

SHRI PRITHVIRAJ D. CHAVAN (Karad): Mr. Chairman, Sir, I rise to support the motion of thanks on the President's Address. The occasion presents an opportunity to review the performance of the Government since it took office after eight months ago.

The achievements Government are indeed formidable. The most important among them, surely, has to be the successful management of the economic crisis, which was triggered off because of the inapt handling of the economy by the two previous Governments.

Our Government has saved the nation from the brink of default and bankruptcy. A log-term structural adjustment programme to correct the defect in our economy is before us. It was possible only because of international confidence in the long track record of stability under the Congress rule.

The new Government in Delhi is an open Government, seeking consenses among political parties, openly debating significant issues, seeking and accepting expert advice, and taking people into confidence. It has opted for democratic solutions to many complex problems, which have helped us to defuse social tensious. And people of this country are fully supportive of this Government as has been amply demonstrated in the overwhelming success of the Congress Party in the recent elections-take either the Lok Sabha bye-elections, or in the Punjab elections, or in Bombay Corporation or in the Maharashtra Panchayat Poll. These results clearly show that people want concrete action and a well thought-out strategy to solve problems, and not gimmics like the *Ekta Yatra* of the BJP or the doctorinair rhetoric of the Left. No wonder elected representatives both in Parliament and State Legislatures, disillusioned by their leaders, are joining the Congress in ever increasining number.

Many amendments have been moved on economic matters. I take some time to discuss the economic situation. Consequent to the totally unexpected collapse of the Soviet Union, the world balance of power has shifted permanently in favour of the U.S. The developed countries are organising themselves into regional economic grouping and common markets to expand market for their goods. This unipolar reality has put the South countries at a great disadvantage, India stands isolated.

During 1989-90, the problem of external debt and Government deficits had assumed menancing proportion, which threatened severe inflation and deep recession. IMF and World Bank loan gave temporary reprieve. But, structural adjustments were needed. It had become necessary to generate trade surpluses to avoid defaulting on our external obligations because a default could disrupt our international trade, leading to a total chaos and disintegration, as seen in the former Soviet Union.

To achieve trade surplus, increasing of exports becomes necessary-exports of industrial goods and services to hard currency area. And it is for this reason that we needed to globalise our economy, integrate it with mainstream, to upgrade technology and to invite foreign investment. It was necessary to liberalise procedures, increase internal competition and update our fiscal, industrial and trade policies. We feel that we will have

to meet the developed countries head-on. That is the only way. India has the potential.

These policies have produced results. The foreign exchange reserves are trippled. Credit rating is up. NRI capital flight has stopped. Government deficits are being reduced. Greater international confidence in India and its leadership is there.

The Opposition is harping on the loan conditionalities and about our perceived loss of sovereignty. If they are opposed to the loan, are they suggesting a default? They do not want to discuss the possible consequences of default. Let the Opposition go to the people with a constructive alternative to the IMF loan and explain the likely hardships - three digit inflation, massive recession and resulting unemployment a due to total disruption of industry. The country will not be able to withstand the jolt and we would see a repeat of the Soviet disintegration in India. A responsible Congress Government cannot allow that.

We have seen what the rigid doctrinaire attitudes and failure to adapt to a changing world has done to the former Soviet State. Today there is 200 per cent inflation and more than fifty per cent of the population is living below poverty. Russia has applied for the membership of the IMF and has sought US $ eight billion loan. Will it be without conditionalities? China, when pressurised by US under Special 301 section of the US Trade Act was meekly wilted and changed its patents law.

Our Marxist friends are opposed to the industrial and trade policy reforms. They have discovered a new God in Nehru. They have stopped quoting Stalin and Lenin but are praising Nehruvian economics which they earlier rejected. But they are not alone. The entire Third World, the former Eastern bloc is trying to emulate the Nehruvian model of mixed economy as practised by Congress.

We are not abandoning Nehru. We are only moving to the next logical step-second phase-by refocussing the role of public sector to non-competitive core sector and strategic areas. The private sector is more mature today than in 1947. They are willing to invest. We should let them do that. It is our duty to nurse the public sector to full health wherever possible. But it cannot be allowed to sap the scarce resources which can be channelled for other priority social sectors.

The process of adjustment is going to be difficult. But these reforms will have to be taken to their logical conclusion untill we can compete internationally and win export markets.

Also these policies will have to be explained to the people to the common man. It must be clearly understood that they are not anti-poor or anti-labour but they are pro-efficiency and encourage financial discipline. It has to be understood that without these reforms, economy will drift and price to be paid will be hundred timesmore severe. Failure of these reforms will only hurt the poorest people.

The reforms themselves must be judged on their own merit, and not through some pre-conceived doctrinaire viewpoint. The management change is as important as the change itself.

Now I will turn to some other issues. Population remains our biggest challenge. The gains made by Indira Gandhi Government in 1975-77 were frittered away by the Janata Government that followed. I suggest the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare be redesignated as Health and Population Control Ministry in order to stress the urgency of the problem. The President in his Address has called on the Parliament to take a lead in calling an all-party meet to review the progress and suggest ways to accelerate the programme.

Electoral reforms is another urgent area, although it is not specifically mentioned. People are being alienated from the political process and politicians.

[Sh. Prithviraj D. Chavan]

Sir, use of religion, money power, violence have got to be curbed. The anti-defection law also needs a fresh look.

Providing irrigation facilities to our farmers is of paramount importance in our fight against poverty and unemployment. The plan to develop micro water-sheds in fifty districts is highly welcome. I urge the Government to include the hilly districts of Satara and Sangli in Maharashtra under this scheme. I take this opportunity to once again urge the Finance Minister to permit the State of Maharashtra to raise public bonds to complete the irrigation projects in the Krishna Basin which have to be completed before the year 2000 A.D. according to the Krishna-Godavari Water Dispute Tribunal's award.

The events of last forty years have shown us that there can be no free lurch. We have to maintain utmost financial discipline, shun populist policies, rise above partisan policies when the national interests are at stake. The developed nations will continue to seek to dominate the third world. There is a constant pressure on India on such issues as signing of N.P.T., Pakistan-sponsored five-nation conference on nuclear weapons free zone and reduced role for International Atomic Energy Commission in inspections and safeguards of our nuclear facilities.

The I.M.F., World Bank and G.A.T.T. are already acting like pseudo-world governments. There is the matter of Dunkel draft on G.A.T.T. agreement. The U.S. Trade Representative is threatening economic sanctions under section 301 unless we accept TRINs, TRIPs, GATs. Soon we will see an increased interference in our internal affairs under the guise of Human Rights, or environmental issues like global warming or green-house effect, or even our population growth would become a problem for them.

In conclusion, I would like to say that, we will have to arrive at an all-party, all-India consensus on many tricky national issues like population control, electoral reforms, Inter-State disputes, status of minority communities, resource sharing, Centre-State relations, unemployment, G.A.T.T. talks etc. There is also the question of nuclear option.

I would like to suggest that we will have to close our ranks and forge a common platform with China, Russia, Central Asian Republics and Latin American countries to wage a battle for rights. We have to work on normalising our relations with Pakistan so that both can curtail wasteful defence expenditure.

Only an economically strong India can withstand these pressures and secure justice for its people. I, therefore, through you, urge and seek the unanimous support of this august House for the policies of this Government.

I support the policies of this Government. I support the Motion.

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV (Machulipatnam): Mr. Chairman, Sir, though our Telugu Desam Party has abstained from the President's Address, we now have to participate in the discussion on the Motion of Thanks to the Presidential Address. In this connection I submit that we oppose the Resolution moved by Shri P.M. Sayeed.

Many senior leaders have spoken on the Resolution and so many things have been brought out. I am not going to again repeat all those things. But one thing is clear, that after 44 years of independence, without any confusion, now under the leadership of the great socialist leader Shri P.V. Narasimha Rao it is conveyed in an unwritten declaration that the Congress Party will hereafter stand by the industrialist, multinationals, anti-social elements and upper strata of the Hindu caste. That is once for all declared that 'up till now we are the leaders who will uplift the Dalits, uplift the Muslims, uplift the backward classes and downtrodden.' It is clear to the nation, they have conveyed it, the President's Address in unambiguous terms has clearly converyed the message that 'what we have already

been saying, we have resigned from that thought and now we stand by the newly formed, the new rich side.'

Sir, so many alternatives have been suggested. During the last President's Address we have proposed some alternatives. Actually, in last July, 1991, the country was facing a critical economic situation and all the Opposition parties also have supported, I mean, co-operated with the Government in getting out of the crisis. Sir, what we had clearly suggested during those discussions was that 'even if we are in a serious problem, we can declare some moratorium on the debts to be repaid for five years. Sir, the clear situation in July 1991 was that there was a balance of payments crisis. It is to the tune of Rs. 11,000 crores. In previous years what we have been doing is that in 1989-90 we used to export Rs. 32,000 crores worth of goods and we were importing Rs. 42,000 crores worth of material and capital goods etc. The gap is Rs. 10,000 crores.

17.42 hrs.

(MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*)

We nave suggested that this gap can be bridged and after declaring moratorium on the foreign payments for five years, we could have stopped importing under POL because on the POL account alone Rs. 11,000 crores we have paid and on the capital goods alone we are paying Rs, 11,000 crores per year. Therefore, on these two accounts what they have done during these six months is that they have stopped capital goods imports, they have stopped other imports- - edible oil and so many items. And reversely, we have not achieved any increase in the exports. How the Government is going to substantiate their action? On the contrary, our debt from Rs. one lakh crores went up to Rs. 1,40,000 crores by a simple process of the devaluation of the rupee. Including interest and all that it has gone up to Rs. 1,40,000 crores.

Sir, in 1989-90 we have exported Rs. 1000 crores worth of cotton. Now we are importing. In respect of edible oil, we have said that 'if you give Rs. 350 per quintal of ground nut the farmers of Gujarat and Rayalaseema are sufficient to offset the oil imports thereby we can save Rs. 2000 crores a year.

Sir, we are all talking about America, France and all that. I want to submit to the honourable House that provided the Government will give all facilities, our Indian farmer can give three crops in year whereas in America and France whatever may be their facilities that are extended, you can get only one crop in a year from America or France or Canada because of the climatic conditions there. The Government of India should have extended minimum facilities to the farmers by way of fertilisers, by way of irrigation and by way of better seeds and credit facilities. Our Finance Minister and this Government have bungled during the last seven months and we had already warned during the last Budget Session itself that this is going to happen. Now, their bungled figure says that there is 2.5 per cent reduction in the agricultural production and another 2.5 per cent in the industrial production. These are all cooked-up figures.

Sir, earlier, we used to get 40 bags of paddy per acre and this year it is not there because of the bungling, because of the fertiliser policy and also because of not giving credit facilities to co-operative societies. What have we achieved due to these economic policies? Last time, I had also supported and congratulated our Finance Minister, because he is an honest person and just like a computer, he has been given a feeding material. With that available feeding material our Finance Minister honestly attempted to solve the problem that the country is facing today. We are not going back in supporting the Finance Minister. Under given circumstances, he has done a good job. But what are the net results of this delicencing and removal of control etc.? If we look back in totality, the farmer has honestly paid his dues, a labourer has honestly paid the excise duties on the cloth he weaves, the coffee he takes and the foodstuff he pur-

[Sh. K.P. Reddaiah Yadav]

chases. The employees have honestly paid their income tax and all the 90 per cent of the people of this country have honestly live for these 44 years. They have done their duties honestly. What have the big people done during these 44 years? They have deposited their illegally looted money in Switzerland; the big industrialists of Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi have done that. With one stroke, our Finance Minister has regularised the transaction of their illegally looted money. You may think that the white-collared people are happy, businessmen and industrialists are happy. the bureaucrats and the politicians who have deposited their money in Switzerland are happy. As I understand about Rs 50,000 crores has been deposited there. What is the fate of the person who has paid his taxes honestly for these 44 years? Are they not demoralised? Are they not unhappy? You are not caring for them. So, this is the situation in which we are placed. Sir, we will give a detailed analysis of our future industrial growth during the Budget debate. The people have really analysed about your industrial policy and economic policy. Please do not think that since the Members of Parliament siting in air-conditioned quarters are happy, the whole nation is happy . It is not like that. Even an hon. Minister with 20 years of experience could not answer as to what is the rate at which we are exporting and importing wheat. That is the situation, That is why, in spite of Dr. Manmohan Singh's economic liberalised policies, his Ministry will bungle with the money which is being brought. The bureaucrats are not qualified, fit enough to use of that money beneficially to the poor people. That is their attitude. Everybody is telling, Soviet Union has collapsed. In 1965, I was an engineering college student and at that time, Soviet Russia had declared that nobody should touch Kashmir. The nation has forgotten it. The Congress people are ungrateful. Today because of United Soviet Russia, Vietnam, the newly liberalised countries are liberated from the feudalistic rule. Fifty per cent of their gross domestic products has been given to the poor nations. India had also enjoyed their products from Russia. Today they might have fallen because of some other reason. But they are not behaving just like what we are behaving today. I am sure, the Soviet Russia will come up again. They were mainly depending upon and engaging in making arsenals to give reply to the capitalist countries. Seventy-five per cent of their production was directed on arsenals and weapons. They have neglected their agriculture. It is not that they are lazy like others. They are very hard working people. I am sure, within two or three years, they will come up again.

The culture of the ruling Party is, they always want one problem to be there. You have divided Punjab, Haryana and Chandigarh. Have you got any patriotism? Is there any sense in keeping it alone? Either you give Chandigarh to Haryana or Punjab. But they want an issue always to be there.

Is there any problem in Kashmir? They want an issue so that they can confuse the whole nation when they are in trouble. Are the Muslims not living happily and safetly in Hyderabad? Are the Muslims not safe in Lucknow? If you want Kashmir to be retained with India, there are three alternatives. I am not taking on party lines. leet us not bungle the whole issue. If you want to give them a free chance to choose their own, let them do it. If you want to retain in India, then repeal article 370. How long can we suffer with this head ache? You repeal article 370 or give them a chance to declare their own destiny or declare war and finish all the divisive forces, whichever are there.

Regarding Punjab, I have already told last time that it is the creation of power-politics. The Congress Party has never allowed natural leadership to take place. They will create doll and instal him as Chief Minister or Home Minister. That is the problem in every State.

We have been spending nearly Rs.75,000 crores and out of that eighty per-cent is on salaries. The President's Address has kept quiet about the Mandal Commission. The backward classes are trishank

swargs who have not get even one per cent in the services. The ruling Party would have befooled us for some more years, had Mr. Lallu Prasad Yadav not been the Chief Minister of Bihar.

SHRI R. JEEVARATHINAM (Arakonam) Is the Narasimha Rao Government Supporting it or not?

SHRI K.P. REDDAIAH YADAV: I am giving the facts only. Let us not cheat the public. You draw your own conlusions hour can I support? You have mortgaged the whole sovereignty and the economic freedom of the country. After all, they might have given Rs. 10,000 crores. This is a backward nation.

Had Mr. Laloo Prasad Yadav not the Chief Minister of Bihar, Bihar could have been another enactment of Delhi episode in 1984.

Had Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav not the Chief Minister, the Muslims of Utter Pradesh would have been massacres.

Now I want to send the message to the people of this country "Elect your own class of leaders. Select your own leaders. Don't depend upon the Congress Party who are serving the interest of the upper strata of the communities and the anti-social elements and the multinationals. Don't surrender your sovereignty and economic freedom to the World Bank."

The representatives of various parties are siting here. But we have not gone into detail how Naxalism and terrorism have erupted. You want to confuse the nation. You cannot confuse them for ten long years and the local, natural leadership is growing up as in Bihar and Utter Pradesh and you will be taught a lesson.

In Andhra Pradesh, everybody including Dr. Reddy are claiming that they have controlled Naxalism. But they have not controlled. You have sent the BSF. It is shameful. It used to safeguard the borders of the country. You have sent the BSF and military to Nizamabad and Karimnagar; and in the name of encounters, you have killed the youth. The youth who are the engineers and doctors, on seeing naked corruption and naked exploitation of social and down-trodden people in Andhra Pradesh took to weapons and out of frustration entered into the jungles and you never controlled them. Has this Prime Minister at any time advised the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh "Mr. Chief Minister, look here, things are not good. We are not tough as before. Please behave properly. Stop corruption and do not exploit the downtrodden and all that"? They want to rule the country and mortgage the country to the World Bank and IMF.

I oppose the motion.

[*Translation*]

PROF. PREM DHUMAL (Hamirpur): Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I rise to oppose the motion of Thanks on the President's Address moved by Shri P.M. Sayeed and supported by Shri Pawan Kumar Bansal though I have respect for both these friends.

The President has also spoken about the national consensus as does the Prime Minister. National consensus is not a Vedic hymn which which, if chanted repeatedly, can solve all the problems. What steps the Government has taken to create national consensus? Unemployment is an important issue. No political party can ignore it. Would the Government solve the unemployment problem?

[*English*]

MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER: Prof. Prem Dhumal, you can continue your speech tomorrow.

The House stands adjourned to meet again tomorrow, Friday, March 6, 1992 at 11 A.M.

18.00 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Friday, March 6, 1992/ Phalguna 16, 1913 (Saka)

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